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CURRENT HISTORY

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SEETHING CALDRON IN EUROPE REVOLUTIONS--CIVIL WAR --DISORDERS--ANARCHY

Peace Congress Proceedings--Knights of Columbus Record--Canada's War Deeds--Civilian Defense of Our Nation. ∴ ∴

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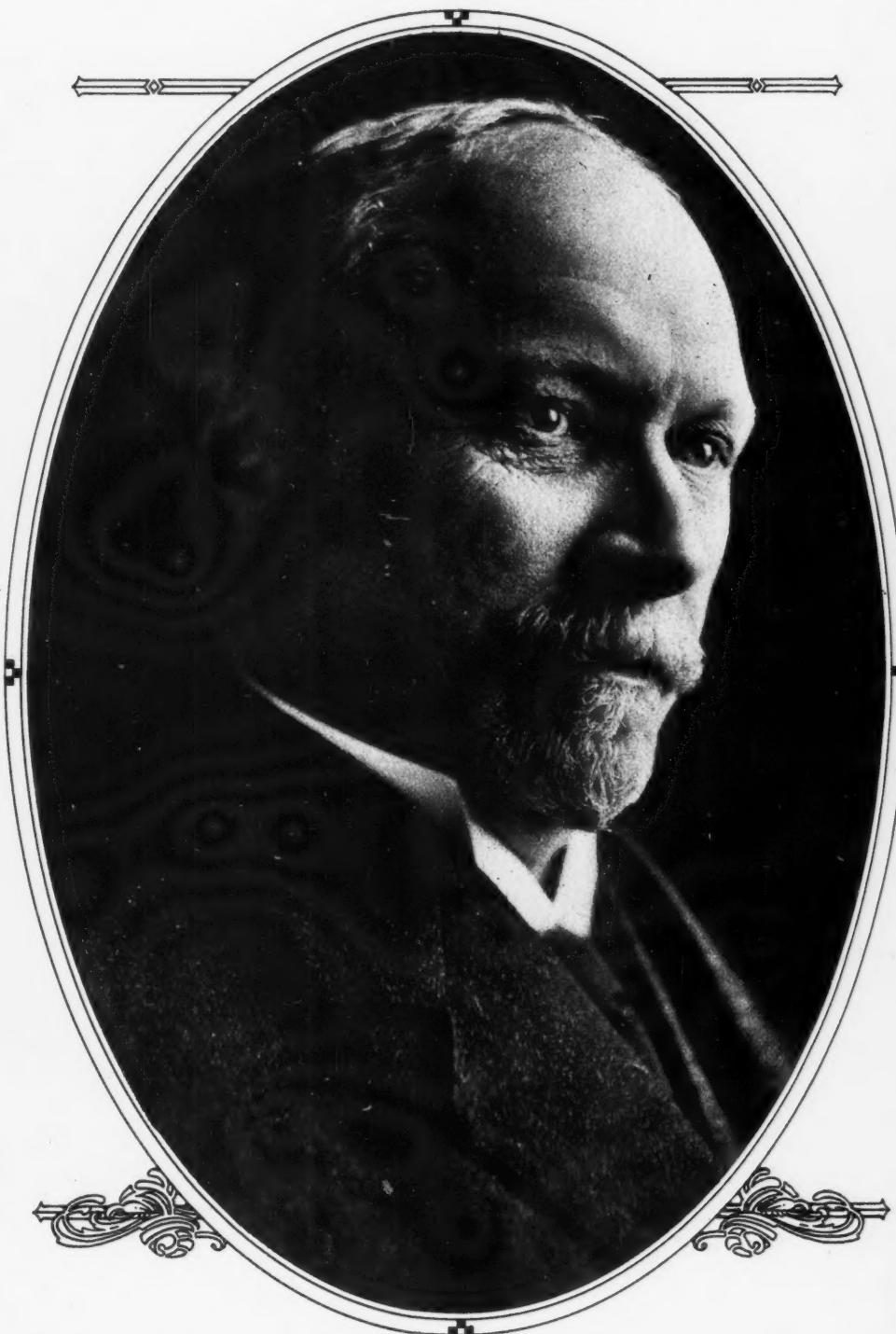
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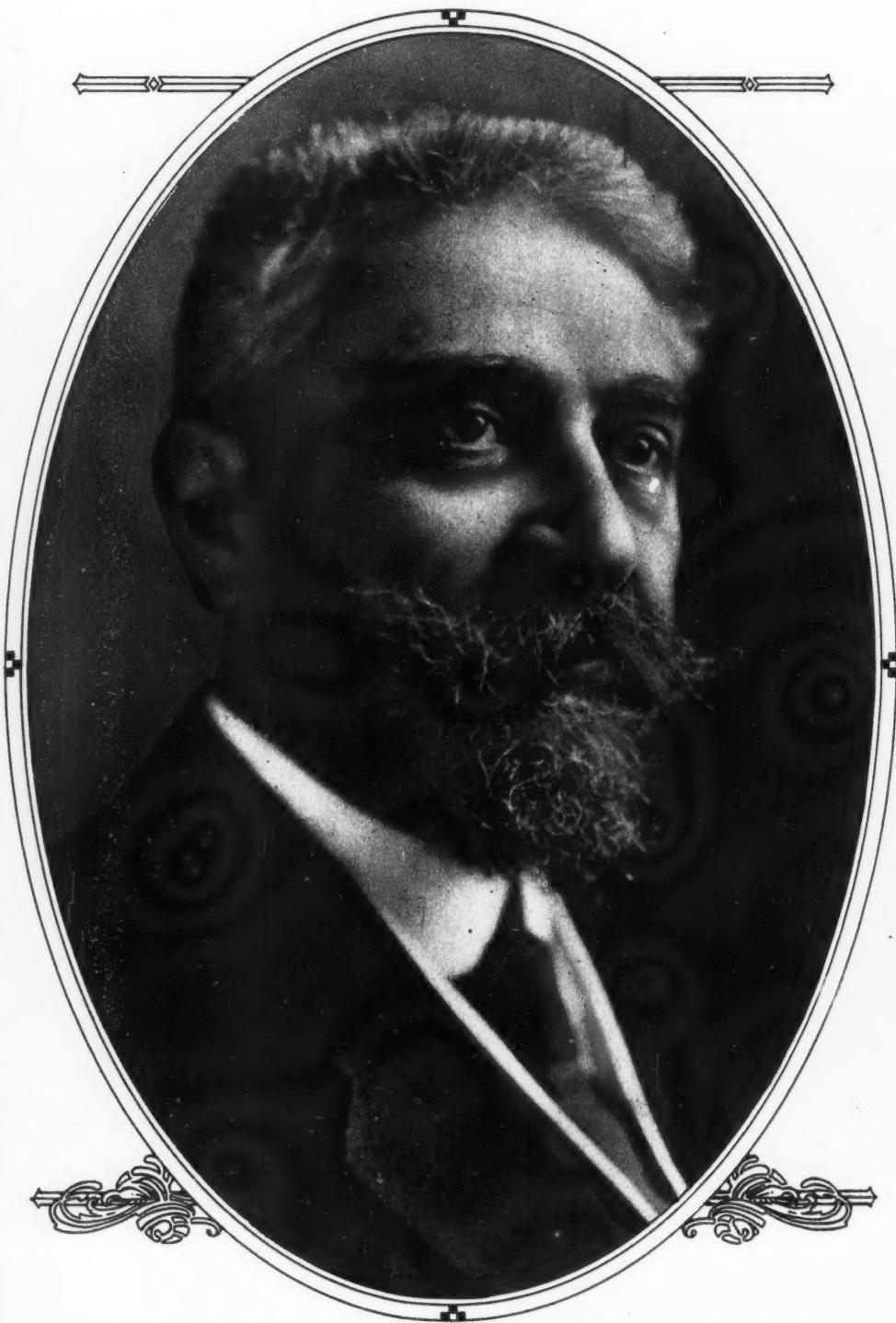
GENERAL JAN C. SMUTS



South African military leader and peace delegate, who has been intrusted with an important political mission to Hungary

(© Harris and Ewing)

JEAN J. C. BRATIANO



Rumanian Prime Minister and head of the Liberal Party in that
country, chosen as delegate to Peace Congress

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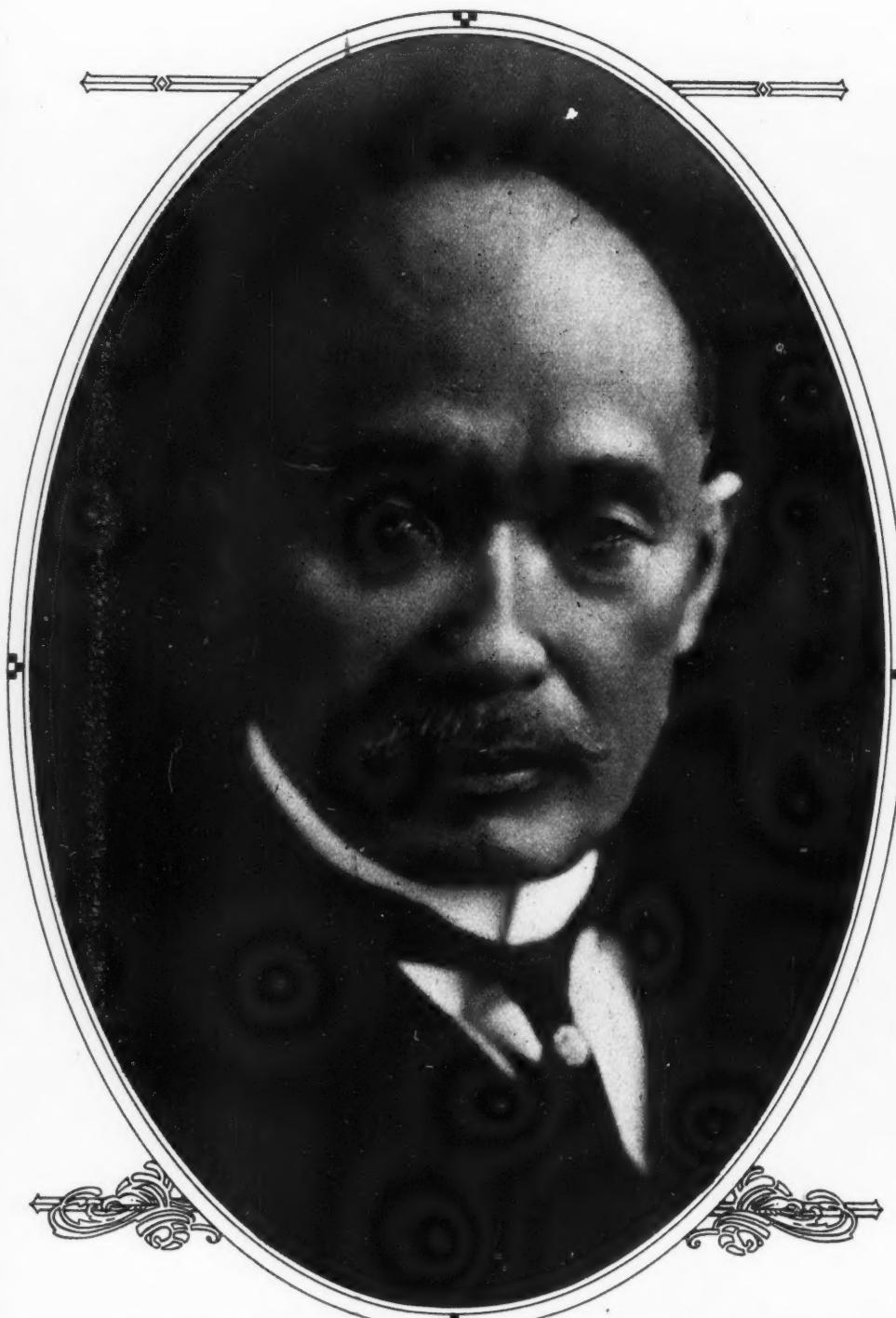
ANTE TRUMBITCH



Serbian Delegate to the Peace Congress and Foreign Minister of the
new Serb-Croat-Slovene Kingdom

(© Harris and Ewing)

BARON MAKINO



Acting head of the Japanese delegation to the Peace Congress; an experienced diplomat who has held various portfolios in Japanese Cabinets

(C) Harris and Ewing

CHINESE PEACE DELEGATES



Chen Ting Thomas Wing
Ex-Minister of Agriculture



Lu Chieng-Tsang
Minister of Foreign Affairs



Vikuin Wellington Koo
Minister to the United States



Sao Ke Alfred Sze
Minister to Great Britain

(Photos by Harry and Ewing)

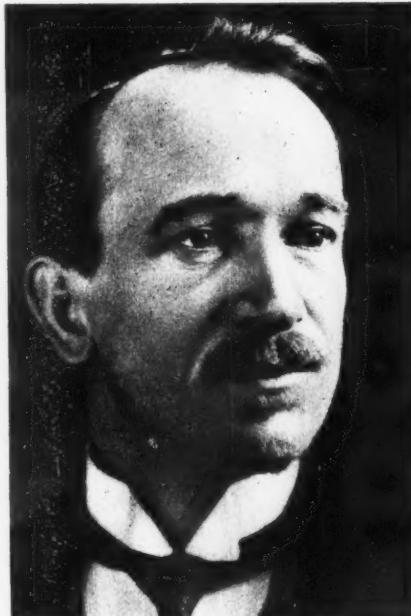
PROMINENT FIGURES AT PEACE CONGRESS



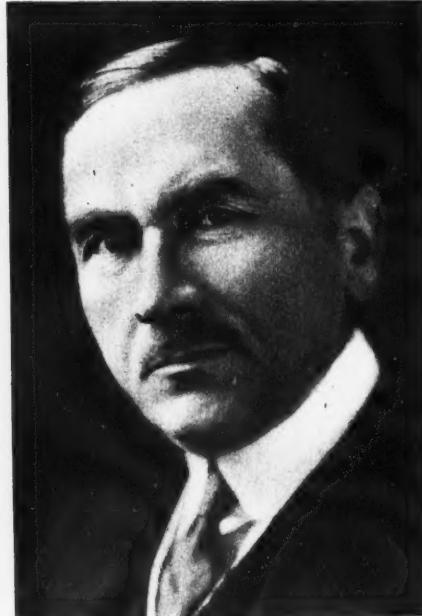
Louis Lucien Klotz
French Minister of Finance



Emir Feisal
Son of King Hussein and leader of
the Arabian people



Dr. Edward Benès
Foreign Minister of the Czechoslovak
Republic



Roman Dmowsky
President of Polish National Com-
mittee

(Photos © Harris and Ewing)

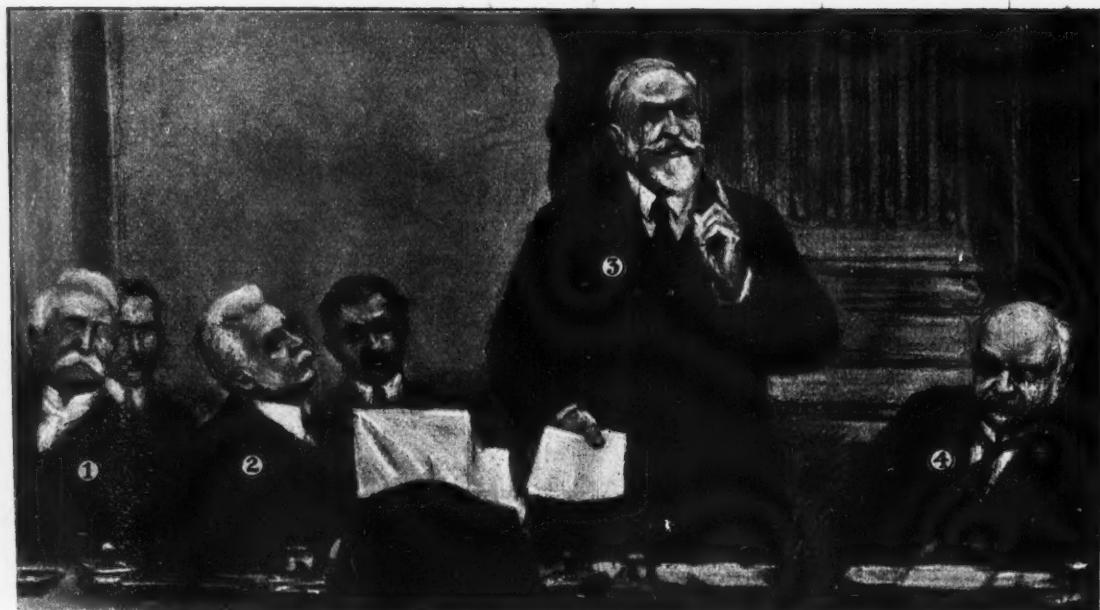
GUSTAV NOSKE



German Minister of National Defense, who displayed great energy
in crushing the Spartacan uprising

(C Press Illustrating Service)

TWO NOTABLE SESSIONS OF



Most of the leading figures of the peace Congress are shown in one or the other of these pictures. The upper group is being addressed by Mr. Barnes, British Labor representative. Numbered figures from left to right are: (1) General Tasker H. Bliss, (2) Colonel E. M. House, (3) Henry White, (4) Secretary Lansing, (5) President Wilson, (6) Premier Clemenceau, (7) M. Dutasta, (8) Andrew J. Balfour, (9) Mr. Barnes, and (10) Lord Robert Cecil

OF

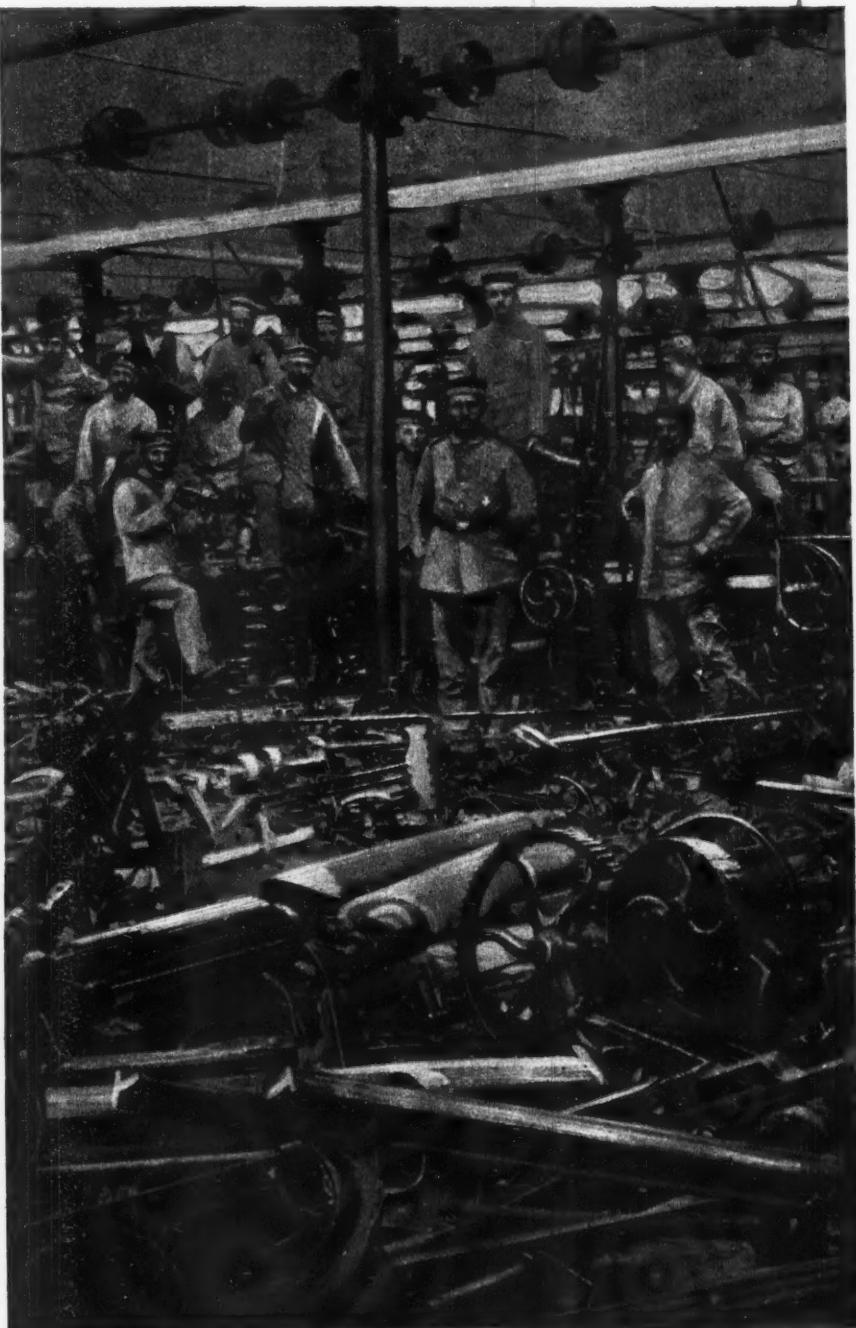
THE PEACE CONGRESS AT PARIS



In the lower picture Léon Bourgeois is presenting the views of France regarding guarantees against German aggression. Numbered figures from left to right are: (1) Italian Foreign Minister Sonnino, (2) Italian Premier Orlando, (3) Léon Bourgeois, (4) Jules Cambon, (5) André Tardieu, (6) Philippe Berthelot, (7) French Finance Minister Klotz, and (8) French Foreign Minister Stephen Pichon

(Drawings by J. Simont in *L'Illustration*)

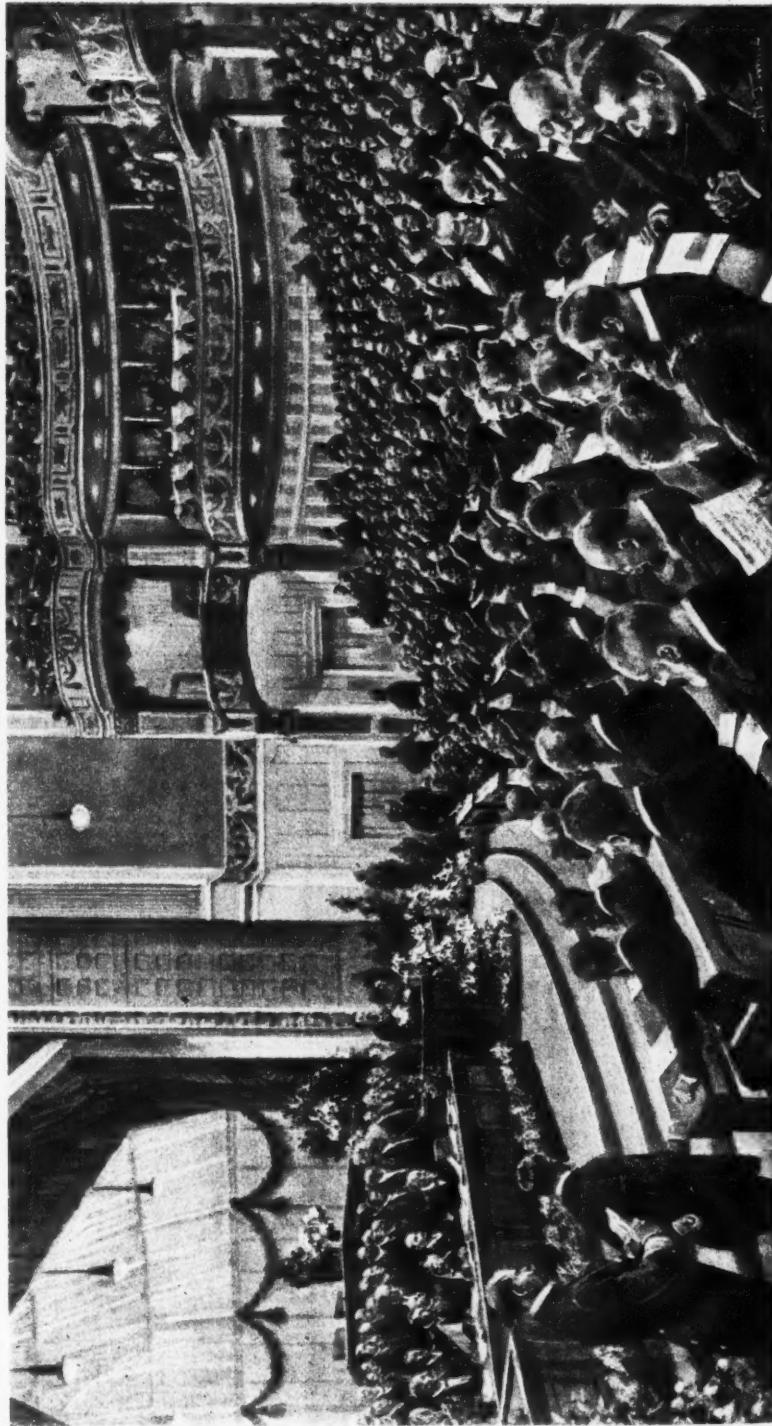
GERMAN WRECKAGE OF FRENCH INDUSTRY



German soldiers pausing to be photographed in their work of smashing the delicate and costly machinery of a French textile mill at Boussières

(© *L'Illustration*)

GERMAN NATIONAL ASSEMBLY CONVENED AT WEIMAR



'The National Assembly listening to the opening speech of Chancellor Ebert, who was afterward elected President of the new German State. A notable feature was the presence of women, thirty-four of whom had been elected as Delegates

(Drawing by Prof. Hans W. Schmidt)

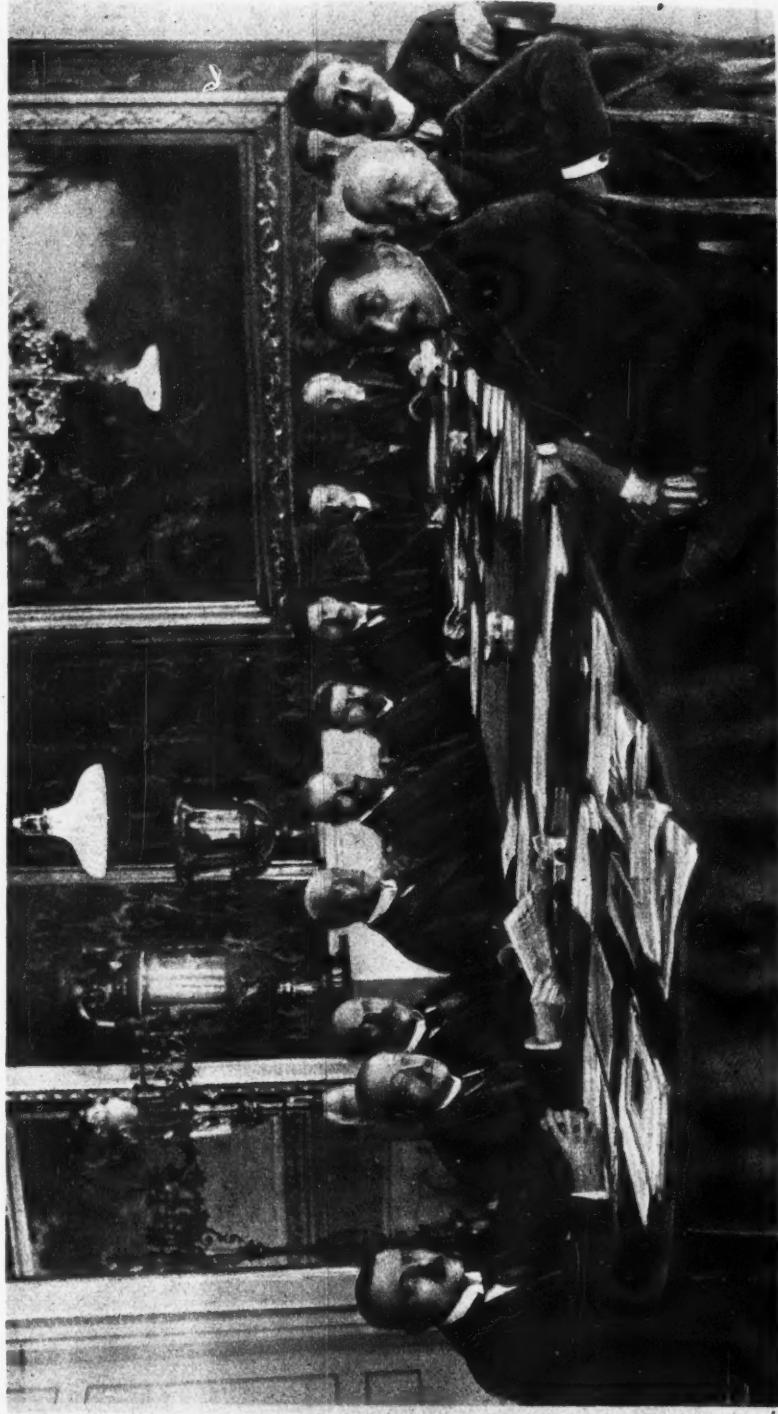
LEADERS OF BOLSHEVISM IN RUSSIA



Board of Communists of the Fifth All-Russian Congress of Soviets, in session at Moscow, Nov. 6, 1918. Seated in the central foreground with his hands folded on a brief case is Sverdlov, President of the Central Executive Committee. At left, with hat in hand, is Zinoviev, President of the Commune of Petrograd. Next to him is Madame Feodorovitch. Zinoviev, whose real name is Apfelbaum, is a violent adversary of the Entente. Sverdlov was formerly a druggist in Nijni-Novgorod. His position is one of power, as all important acts are submitted to his committee for ratification.

(C. T. Anderson and F. Anderson)

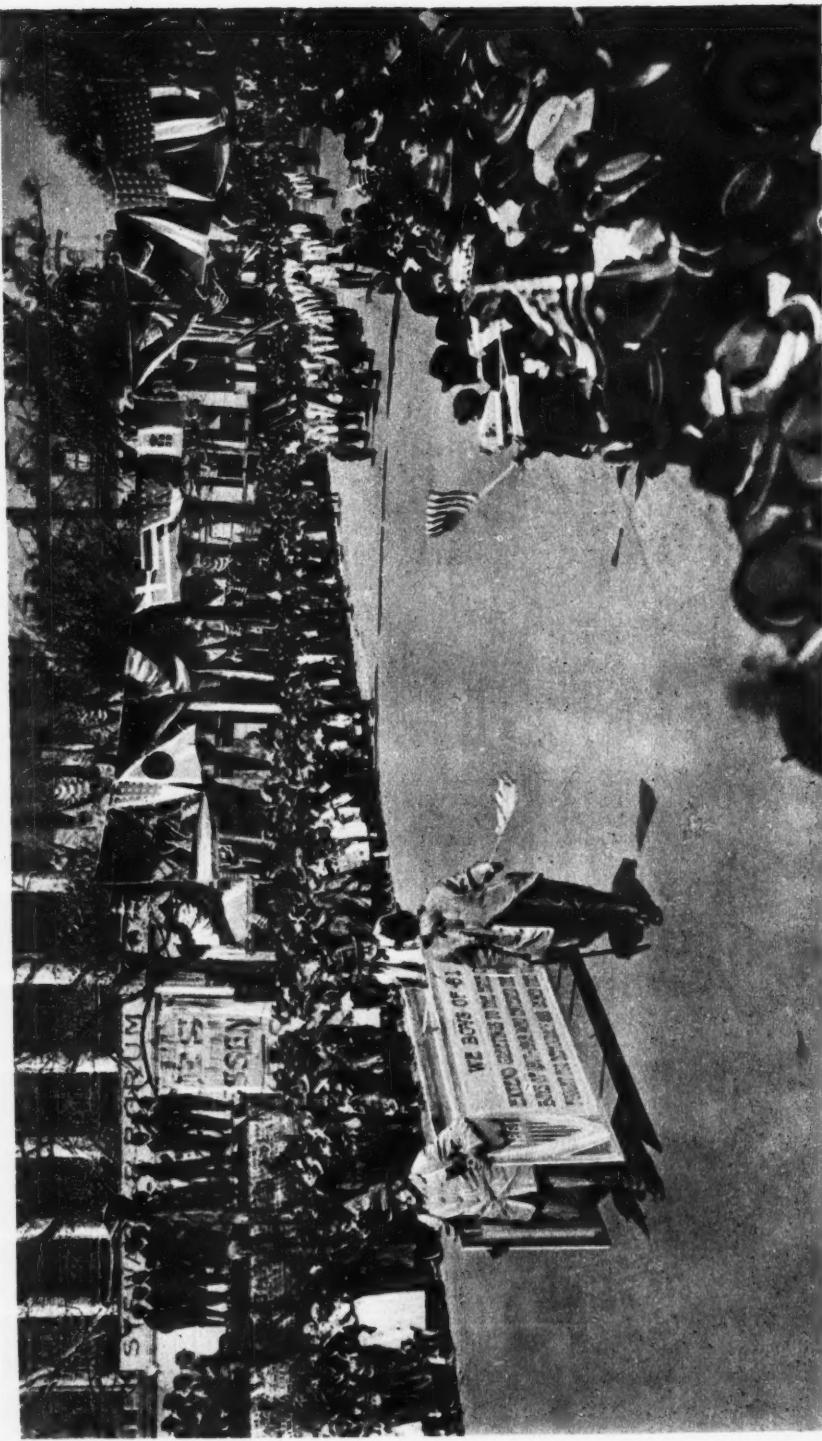
MEMBERS OF NEW GERMAN CABINET IN SESSION AT WEIMAR



From left to right are seated Ulrich Rauscher, Robert Schmidt, Herr Schiffer, Philipp Scheidemann, Dr. Landsberg, Herr Wissel, Herr Bauer, Count Brockdorff-Rantzau, Dr. Eduard David. On the right in the foreground is Gustav Noske. Behind him are seated Herr Gothein and Dr. Bell

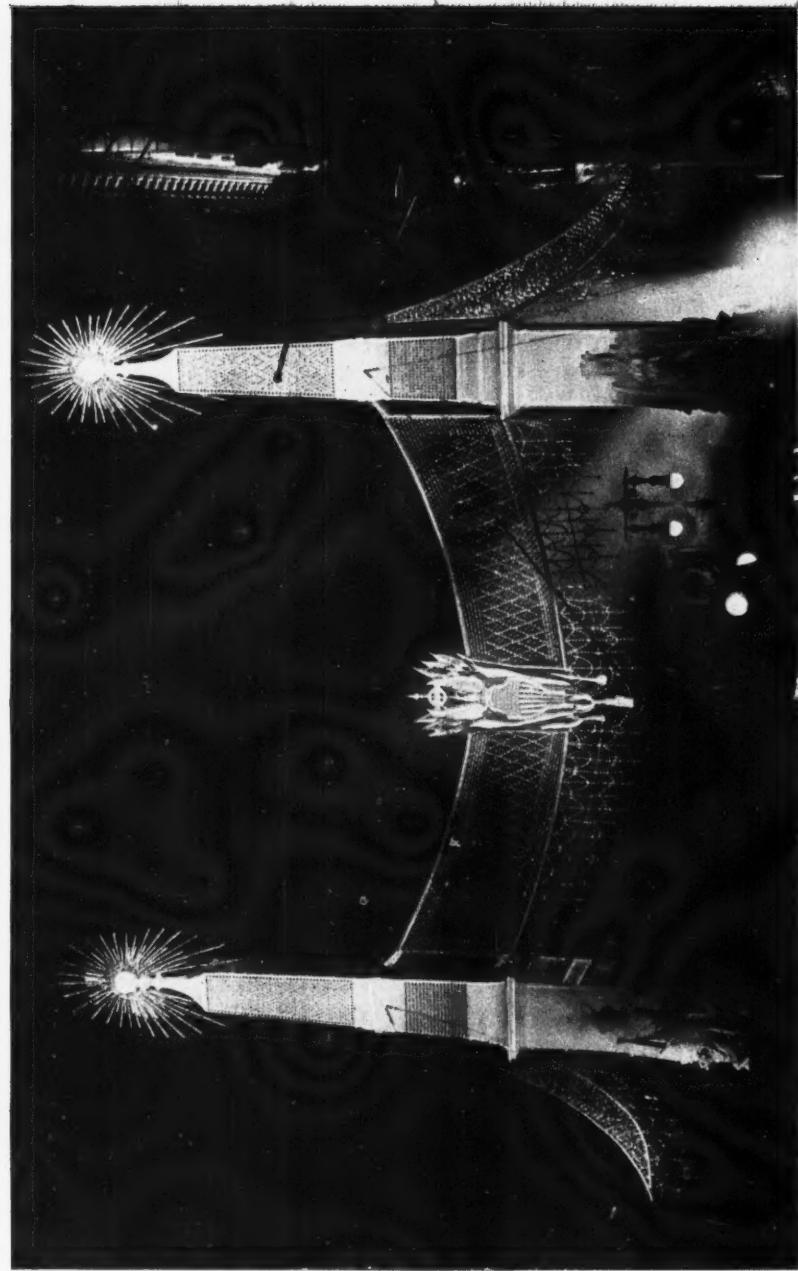
(Drawing by W. Bräuer)

SAVANNAH WELCOMES RETURNING TROOPS



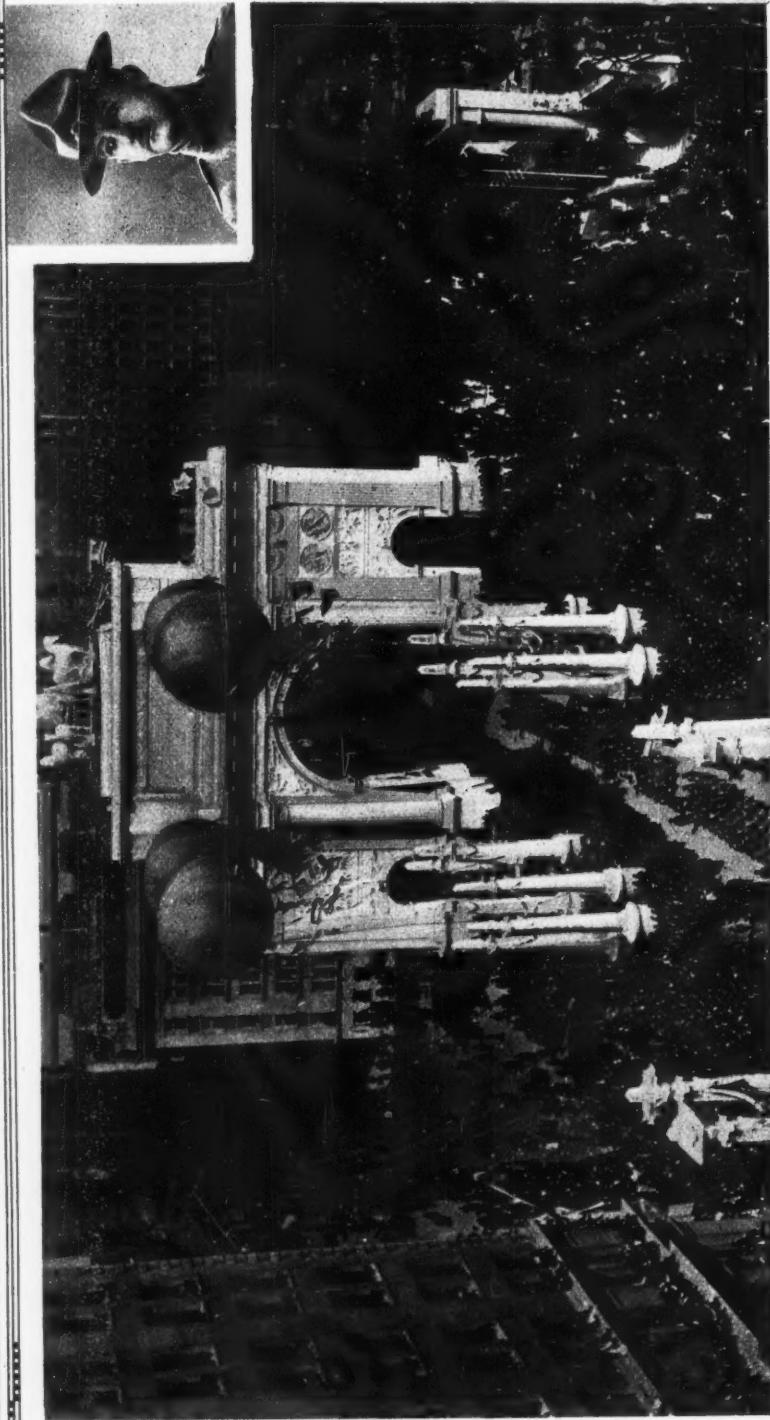
A dramatic feature of the reception given to returning American soldiers at Savannah, Ga., was the presence of some of the veterans of the civil war carrying a banner of welcome

"ARCH OF JEWELS," NEW YORK'S TRIBUTE TO RETURNING TROOPS



Thousands of incandescent lights and varicolored prisms made the Arch of Jewels at Sixtieth Street and Fifth Avenue a scene of bewildering beauty on the night of March 25 after the parade of the 27th Division
(© Underwood and Underwood)

NEW YORK'S VICTORY ARCH AND MILITARY PAGEANT



Soldiers of the 27th Division passing under the Arch of Victory at Madison Square, New York, March 25, 1919. The metropolis had erected this arch, together with other imposing structures, in honor of its returning troops. The parade was witnessed by the greatest throngs that had ever gathered on this continent. Upper right-hand corner, Major Gen. John F. O'Ryan, commander of the 27th Division

(© Brown Bros.)

CURRENT HISTORY

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THE PEACE CONFERENCE

Record of a Month's Proceedings at Paris, Introduced by Premier Lloyd George's Official Summary

[PERIOD ENDED APRIL 18, 1919]

David Lloyd George, the Premier of Great Britain, in an address to the House of Commons on April 16, reviewed the decisions of the Peace Conference so far as they could be made public at that time. His statement was the only official declaration regarding the proceedings up to the time this issue of CURRENT HISTORY went to press, and it is presented herewith as an authoritative introduction to the magazine's own account of the month's developments at Paris. The doings of the Conference during March and April were not made public, and though many reports of agreements were published from time to time, most of these were not confirmed officially and hence have been excluded from the article that follows Lloyd George's summary. The British Premier said:

THE task with which the peace delegates have been confronted is indeed a gigantic one. No conference that ever assembled in the history of the world has been confronted with problems of such variety, of such perplexity, of such magnitude, and of such gravity. The Congress of Vienna was the nearest approach to it. It had to settle the affairs of Europe. It took eleven months. But the problems of the Congress of Vienna, great as they were, sink into insignificance compared with those that we have to settle at the Paris Conference.

It is not one continent that is engaged. Every continent is affected. With very few exceptions, every country in Europe has been in this war. Every country in Asia is affected by the war except Tibet and Afghanistan. There is not a square mile of Africa which has not been engaged in the war in one way or another. Almost the whole of the nations of America are in the war. In the far Southern Seas, islands have been captured and hundreds of thousands of men have gone to fight in this great struggle. There has never been in the whole history of the globe anything to compare with this.

Ten new States have sprung into existence. Some of them are independent, some of them seem dependent, some of them may be protectorates; and, at any rate, although we may not define

their boundaries, we must give indications of them. Boundaries of fourteen countries have to be recast. That will give some idea of the difficulties of a purely territorial character that have engaged our attention.

But there are problems equally great, equally important, not of a territorial character, but all affecting the peace of the world, all affecting the well-being of men, all affecting the destiny of the human race, and every one of them of a character where, if you make a blunder, humanity may have to pay.

Armament, economic questions of commerce and trade, questions of international waterways and railways, the question of indemnities—not an easy one—and not one that you can settle by telegrams. [Referring to a telegram sent to him by 370 members of Parliament asking that Germany be required to pay the cost of the war.] International arrangements for labor, practically never attempted before—a great world scheme—have been adopted.

And there is that great organization, the great experiment—an experiment, but one upon which the hope of the world for peace will hang—the Society of Nations.

All of them and each of them separately would occupy months, and a blunder might precipitate universal war. It may be near or it may be distant, and all the nations, almost every nation on

earth, is engaged in consideration of these problems.

WORKING UNDER PRESSURE

We were justified in taking some time. In fact, I don't mind saying that it would have been imperative in some respects that we should take more time but for one fact, and that is, that we are setting up a machinery that is capable of readjusting and correcting possible mistakes—and that is why the League of Nations, instead of wasting time, has saved time, and we have to shorten our labors, work crowded hours, long and late, because while we were trying to build we saw in many lands the foundations of society crumbling into dust. We had to make haste.

I venture to say that no body of men have worked harder and that no body of men ever worked with better heart. I doubt whether any body of men has worked under greater difficulties. Stones were crackling on the roof and crashing through the windows, and sometimes wild men were screaming through keyholes. [This referred to the attacks on him by the Northcliffe newspapers.] When enormous issues are dependent upon it, you require calm deliberation, and I ask for it. I ask for it for the rest of the journey, because the journey is not at an end. It is full of perils—perils for this country, perils for all lands, perils for the people throughout the world.

I beg that at any rate men who are doing their best should be left in peace to do it, or that other men should be sent there. There are difficulties rather more trying to the temper than to the judgment, but there are intrinsic difficulties of an extraordinary character.

You are dealing with a multitude of nations, most of them with a problem of its own, each and every one of them with a different point of view, even where the problems are common, looking from different angles at questions, and sometimes, perhaps, with different interests. And it requires all the tact and all the patience and all the skill that we can command to prevent the different interests from conflicting.

I want the House and country to bear

that in mind. I believe that we have surmounted these difficulties, but it has not been easy. There are questions which have almost imperiled the peace of Europe while we were sitting there.

I should like to put each member of this House through an examination. I am certain I could not have passed it. Before I went to the Peace Conference, I had never heard of Teschen, but it very nearly produced an angry conflict between two allied States, and we had to try and settle the affairs of Teschen. And there are many questions of that kind where missions have been sent and where we have got to settle differences in order to get on with the different problems of the war.

Those questions are of importance to small States, but it was the quarrels of the small States that made the great war. It was the differences of the Balkans, I believe, that disturbed Europe, created an atmosphere of unrest which began the trouble, roused the military temper, and I am not at all sure that it did not incite the blood lust.

One of the features of the present situation is that Central Europe is falling into small States. The greatest care must be taken lest causes of future unrest be created by the settlement which we make. In addition, we have before us a complete break-up of three ancient empires, Russia, Turkey, and Austria.

COMPLEX RUSSIAN PROBLEM

I have heard very simple remedies produced on both sides regarding Russia. Some say: "Use force." Some say: "Make peace." It is not as easy as all that. It is one of the most complex problems ever dealt with by any body of men. One difficulty is that there is no Russia. Siberia, the Don region, and the Caucasus have broken off; and then there is some organization controlling Central Russia. But there is no body of men that can say it is the Government for the whole of Russia.

Apart from all questions whether you can, under any circumstances, recognize the Bolshevik Government, you could not apart from this question recognize it as the *de facto* Government of Russia, because it is not, and there is no other

Government you could call the de facto Government of Russia.

You have got a vast country in a state of complete confusion and anarchy. There is no authority that extends over the whole land. It is just like a volcano which is still in furious eruption, and the best you can do is to provide security for those who are dwelling on the lava that it may not scorch other lands.

It is very easy to say about Russia, "Why do not you do something?" To begin with, let me say that there is no question of recognition. It was never proposed, never discussed, for the reasons I have given. I can give two or three more. There is no Government representing the whole of Russia. The Bolshevik Government has committed crimes against allied subjects and has made it impossible to recognize it even as a civilized Government. And the third reason is that it is at this moment attacking our friends in Russia.

What is the alternative? Does anyone propose military intervention? I want you to examine it carefully and candidly before any individual commits his conscience to such an enterprise. I want you to realize what it means. First of all, there is the fundamental principle of foreign policy in this country that you never interfere with the internal affairs of other countries. Whether Russia is Czarist, Republican, Menshevist, or Bolshevik, whether it is reactionary or revolutionary, whether it follows one set of people or another, that is a matter for the Russian people themselves.

WARNING ON INTERVENTION

The people of this Government thoroughly disapproved of the Czarist autocracy, its principles, methods, and corruption. But it was a question for Russia itself. And we certainly disagree fundamentally with all the principles upon which is founded the present Russian experiment, with its horrible consequences—far-reaching bloodshed, confusion, ruin, and horror. That does not justify us in committing this country to a gigantic military enterprise in order to improve conditions in Russia.

Let me speak in all solemnity and with a great sense of responsibility. Russia

is a country that is very easy to invade but very difficult to conquer. It has not been conquered by a foreign foe, though it has been successfully invaded many times. It is a country very easy to get into, but very difficult to get out of.

You have only to look at what has happened within the last few years to the Germans. They captured millions of Russian prisoners, taking many guns. The Russians had no ammunition, and there was barely any one to resist them. And at last the Russian armies fled, leaving their guns in the field. Neither M. Kerensky nor any of his successors could get together 10,000 disciplined men; and yet the Germans to the last moment, while their front was broken in France and their country was menaced with invasion, had to keep a million men in Russia. They had entangled themselves in the morass and could not get out of it. Let that be a warning at times when we are told that the Bolshevik Army is comparatively few and that we can conquer Russia. You would be surprised at the military advice given to us as to the number of men that would be required. And I should like to know where they are to come from.

Supposing you had them, that you gathered overwhelming armies and conquered Russia, what manner of Government are you going to set up there? You must set up a Government that the people want. Does anybody know what Government they would ask for? And if it is a Government we do not like, are we to reconquer Russia till we get a Government we do like?

Let me give another illustration. We have an army of occupation now and I know what it costs. You cannot immediately leave Russia until you restore order, and that will take a long time. Has any one reckoned what an army of occupation would cost in Russia?

The Rhine is expensive, yet it is not so far from Britain. But Russia, with its long line of communications, its deficient transports, its inadequate resources! I have read criticisms in this House where the House showed a natural desire to control expenditures in this country on railways and canals. My right honorable friend with all his energy could not spend

in a quarter of a century as much money on railways and canals as in a single year on a military enterprise in Russia.

I share the horror for Bolshevik teaching, but I would rather leave Russia Bolshevik until she sees her way out of it than to see Britain bankrupt. That is the surest road to Bolshevism in Britain.

WHY KOLCHAK WAS SUPPORTED

I only want to put quite frankly to the House my earnest conviction that if we assume military intervention in Russia it would be the greatest act of stupidity that any Government could possibly do. But, then, if that is the case, why do you support Kolchak and Denikin and Kharkoff? I will tell the House with the same frankness.

When the Brest-Litovsk treaty was signed there were large territories of population in Russia that would have neither hand nor part in the shameful act, and they revolted against the Government that signed it. And let me say this—they raised arms at our instigation, and largely at our expense. It was a sound military policy. Had it not been for these organizations which we improvised, the Germans would have secured all the resources which would have enabled them to break the blockade. They would have got through to the grain and minerals of the Urals and the oils of the Caucasus, and, in fact, they would have been supplied with almost every essential commodity of which the four or five years of rigid blockade had deprived them.

Bolshevism threatened to impose by force of arms its domination on those populations which had revolted against it. They were organized at our request. If we, as soon as they had served our purpose and had taken all the risks, had said, "Thank you, we are exceedingly obliged to you. You have served our purpose. We no longer need you. Now let the Bolsheviks go their way," we should have been mean and thoroughly unworthy.

As long as they stand there, with the evident support of the populations behind them—where there are populations, like those in Siberia and in the

Don and elsewhere who are opposed to Bolshevism—they are offering a real resistance. Since we asked them to take this stand, which contributed largely to the triumph of the Allies, it is our business to stand by our allies.

RUSSIA MUST SAVE HERSELF

We are not sending troops, we are supplying munitions, because if Russia is to be redeemed she must be redeemed by her own sons, and all they ask is that they should be supplied with the necessary arms to fight for their own protection and their own freedom. In lands where the Bolsheviks are antipathetic to the feeling of the population, I do not in the least regard it as a departure from our fundamental policy not to interpose in the internal affairs of any land that we should support General Denikin, Admiral Kolchak, and General Kharkoff.

What are we doing next? Our policy is what I called "to arrest the flow of lava"—that is, to prevent the eruption of Bolshevism into allied lands. For that reason we are organizing all the forces of the allied countries bordering on the Bolshevik territory, from the Baltic to the Black Sea—Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Rumania. There is no doubt that those populations are anti-Bolshevist.

The Bolsheviks may menace them or not. Whether they do or not, we shall be ready for any attempt to overrun Europe by force.

That is our policy, but we do want peace in Russia. The world will not be pacified as long as Russia is torn and rent by civil war. We made our effort (I make no apology for it)—an effort to make peace among the warring sections, not by recognizing anybody, but by inducing them to come together with a view of setting up some authority in Russia which would be acceptable to the whole of the Russian people and which the Allies could recognize as the Government of that great empire.

We insisted that it was necessary that they should cease fighting. But with one accord, I regret to say, they refused to accede to this essential condition. Therefore the attempt was not crowned

with success. The Soviet Republic would not accede to the request that it should cease fighting. On the contrary, they suggested that we were doing it purely because our friends were getting the worst of it.

I do not despair of a solution in time. There are factors in the situation even now which are promising. Reliable information which we have received indicates that while the Bolsheviks are apparently growing in strength Bolshevism itself is rapidly on the wane. It is breaking down before the relentless pressure of economic facts.

NO TIME TO INTERVENE

This process must inevitably continue. They cannot carry on a great country upon such methods. When Bolshevism, as we know it, and as Russia to her sorrow has known it, disappears, then the time will come for another effort at re-establishing peace in Russia. But the time is not yet. We must have patience and we must have faith.

You are dealing with a nation which, after being misgoverned for centuries, has been defeated and trampled to the ground, largely through the corruption, inefficiency, and treachery of its Governments. Its losses have been colossal. All that largely accounts for the frenzy that has seized upon a great people. That is the reason why the nation is going through the untold horrors of a fanatic and lunatic experiment.

But there are unmistakable signs that Russia is emerging from the fever, and when the time comes, when she is once more sane and calm and normal, we will make peace in Russia. It is idle now to say that the world is at peace. * * *

There are men of all nationalities constantly going to Russia and coming back with assertions, but we have had no approaches of any sort or kind. I have only heard reports that others have got proposals which they assumed came from authoritative quarters, but these have never been brought before the Peace Conference by any member of that Conference, and therefore we have not considered any. * * * There is some suggestion that an American mission came back. It is not for me to judge the

value of those communications, but if the President of the United States had attached any value to them he would have brought them before the Conference, and he certainly did not.

This Russian situation is a question of the first magnitude and great complexity, but on this I am clear. I do entreat the House of Commons and the country not to contemplate the possibility of another great war. We have had quite enough of fighting.

GENERAL PEACE TERMS

I should say something about the general terms of peace. After a long discussion, not an hour of which was wasted, we have arrived at a complete understanding on all the great fundamental questions affecting peace with Germany. We hope that by next week they will be presented to the German delegates. * * *

The idea that America and Europe have been at hopeless variance at the Conference is untrue. No one could have treated with more sympathy the peculiar problems and the special susceptibilities of Europe with its long and bitter memories and national conflicts than President Wilson.

We have never, during the whole of this Conference, forgotten the poignant sufferings and sacrifices in this war of the country in whose capital the conditions of peace are being determined. We have not forgotten that France has been rent and torn twice within living memory by the same savage brute. We have not forgotten that she is entitled to feel a sense of security against it, and upon all questions that have come before us we came to conclusions which were unanimous.

REASONS FOR SECRECY

Now a word about publicity. We considered that question and we came to the conclusion, which was unanimous, that to publish these terms before they were discussed with the enemy would be a first-class blunder. I know in the criticisms there has been a lot of silly talk about secrecy. Yet no other peace conference has ever given so much publicity. I am referring now to the official

communications, issued by the Conference, and, honestly, I would rather have a good peace than a good press.

There are one or two reasons why we came to the conclusion that we would not publish the terms before they were discussed. No peace terms of any kind ever devised or promulgated can satisfy everybody. I am not referring to mere political and personal attacks on them, but to honest criticisms inspired by higher and more sincere motives. Some people will think that we have gone too far, and others that we have not gone far enough. In each country people will suggest that the interests of the country have been sacrificed for some other country, and all that will be published.

Supposing there were men in this country who thought the peace terms too severe. There would be speeches and leading articles. These speeches and articles would be published in Germany out of all proportion to the others, and it would appear in Germany as if British public opinion were against the peace terms as being too harsh. That would encourage resistance in Germany and make it impossible for us to handle the Germans.

I want to make another point. Supposing the terms proposed by Bismarck had been published in France before they were discussed, what would have happened? The Communists would have been strengthened by the adherence of men who from patriotic reasons would have supported anarchy in preference to what they considered hard terms. To publish the peace terms prematurely before the enemy had opportunity to consider them would be to raise difficulties in the way of peace, and we mean to take the action necessary to prevent their publication.

Before the war was over we stated our peace terms. On behalf of the Government I made a considered statement, considered by every member of the Cabinet, as to what we conceived to be the terms on which we could make peace. That was last year. At that time those terms received the adherence of every section of opinion in this country. There was no protest from

any quarter. A few days afterward President Wilson proposed his famous Fourteen Points, which practically embodied my statement.

[The speaker then referred to the attacks on him by the Northcliffe newspapers and reaffirmed that he stood by his pledges made prior to the last election and had nothing to retract. He proceeded as follows:]

A JUST PEACE

We want peace. We want a peace that is just, but not vindictive. We want peace, a stern peace, because the occasion demands it, the crime demands it; but its severity must be designed not to gratify vengeance, but to vindicate justice. Every clause in the terms must be justified on that ground.

Above all, we want to prevent a repetition of the horrors of the big war by making the wrongdoer repair the wrongs and losses which he has inflicted by his wanton aggression; by punishing each individual who is responsible, and by depriving the nations which menaced the peace of Europe for half a century with flourishing the sword of their weapons. I stand by my pledges by avoiding a condition which by creating a legitimate sense of wrong would excite national pride to endlessly seek opportunities for redress. The most permanent security of all is the power of the nations of the earth federated with a firm purpose of maintaining peace.

I just want to say one other thing, because I am going back, if this House wants me to go back, unless it prefers another. There are many eligible offers. But whoever goes there is going to meet emissaries of the enemy, the enemy with whom we have been fighting for five years. Whoever goes there must go there feeling that he has the fullest confidence of Parliament behind him. I know that Parliament can repudiate the treaty when it is signed, but it will be difficult to do it once the signatures are attached, and so before any one goes there Parliament must feel that at any rate it knows that whoever is there will carry out his pledges to the uttermost of his power.

[The speaker then replied to the attacks

on him by The London Times and London Mail. He accused Lord Northcliffe, the owner, of intriguing to become head of the Government and declared that the attempts of his newspapers to sow dissensions among nations was "a black crime against the world." He closed his address as follows:]

GERMANY PROSTRATE

It is essential that the ordinary machinery of commerce and industry be set going. You cannot do that without peace. There are the men in nearly every trade with their hands on the lever waiting for the announcement. It is essential that the enormous expenditure of war should be cut down ruthlessly and as soon as possible. Peace is necessary, otherwise our effort will be squandered.

One of the beneficent results will be that the great continental menace of armaments will be swept away. The country that has kept Europe armed for forty years is to be reduced to an army which is just adequate to police her cities, and her fleet, which was a source of terror to us, a hidden terror, will now be just enough to protect her commerce. But we must profit by that commerce. Europe must profit by that, and not Germany alone.

I know there is a good deal of talk about recrudescence of the military power of Germany. You get paragraphs about what Germany is going to do, that she is going to get on her feet again, and about her great armies. That is not the case. With difficulty—that is our military information—can she gather together 80,000 men to preserve order. Her guns and her weapons of offense on sea and on land and in the air have been taken away.

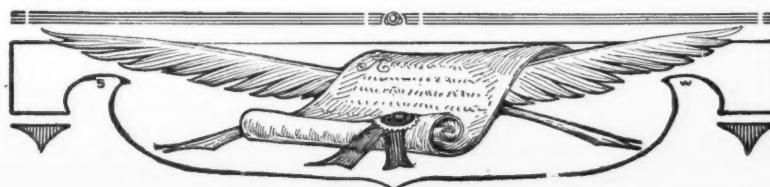
A very keen observer who has just

come from Central Europe told me: "I have seen a world going to pieces, men helpless, half-starved, and benumbed, no authority, but no revolution because men have lost heart."

Two British soldiers crossing a square in Vienna saw a hungry child. They took out a biscuit and gave it to her. You have seen when you throw a bit of bread on the ground how birds flock from every part, birds you have not seen before. A hundred children came from nowhere for food. It was with difficulty that these two British soldiers escaped with their lives. That is the real danger, the gaunt spectre of hunger stalking through the land. The Central Powers are lying prostrate and broken, and these movements of the Spartacists and Bolsheviks and revolutionaries in each of these countries are merely like the convulsions of a broken-backed creature crushed in savage conflict.

Europe itself has suffered more in the last five years than ever in its whole blood-stained history. The lesson has been a sharper one than ever. It has been demonstrated to vaster multitudes of human beings than ever what war means. For that reason the opportunity of organizing the world on a basis of peace is such a one as has never been presented to the world before.

And in this fateful hour it is the supreme duty of statesmen in every land of Parliaments on whose will the statesmen depend and of those who guide and direct public opinion which has the making of Parliaments, not to soil this triumph of right by indulging in angry passions of the moment, but to consecrate the sacrifice of millions to the permanent redemption of the human race from the scourge and agony of war.



Summary of the Conference Proceedings

Progress in Complicated Problems

THE proceedings of the Peace Conference at Paris during March and April, 1919, were marked by increasing secrecy. The original Council of Ten gave way, first, to the Council of Five, including Japan; then Japan was dropped from the inner circle, and Premiers Clemenceau, Lloyd George, Orlando, and President Wilson, known as the Council of Four, carried on the discussions on the most important issues among themselves. Very few decisions were given out officially, and this led to fine-spun speculations on the part of the correspondents, while discontent prevailed generally in Paris over this new embargo.

Many articles attacking the Conference for its relapse into the ways of secret diplomacy, with charges that the proceedings were being unreasonably protracted, were published. Rumors of "dissensions," "crises," "ultimatums" were rife. President Wilson's action in ordering the steamship George Washington to France was interpreted as a threat to coerce his fellow-delegates. There were wild rumors that Clemenceau had resigned; that Italy would break away and make a separate peace with Austria. These and similar rumors were subsequently contradicted, and the gigantic task of reconciling the many conflicting interests and arriving at decisions satisfactory to all went on.

READY FOR GERMAN DELEGATES

President Wilson announced on April 14 that in view of the nearness of completion of the whole work of the Conference it had been decided to invite the German Peace Plenipotentiaries to come to France on April 25. The announcement was in these words:

In view of the fact that the questions which must be settled in the peace with Germany have been brought so near a complete solution that they can now quickly be put through the final process of drafting, those who have been most constantly in conference about them have decided to advise that the German pleni-

potentiaries be invited to meet the representatives of the associated belligerent nations at Versailles on the 25th of April.

This does not mean that many other questions connected with the general peace settlement will be interrupted, or that their consideration, which has long been under way, will be retarded. On the contrary, it is expected that rapid progress will now be made with these questions, so that they may also presently be expected to be ready for final settlement.

It is hoped that the questions most directly affecting Italy, especially the Adriatic question, can now be brought to a speedy agreement. The Adriatic question will be given for the time precedence over other questions and pressed by continual study to its final stage.

The settlements that belong especially to the treaty with Germany will, in this way, be got out of the way at the same time that all other settlements are being brought to a complete formulation. It is realized that, though this process must be followed, all the questions of the present great settlement are parts of a single whole.

The Council of Ten, or Supreme Council, the body which dominated the affairs of the Peace Conference, was, by action taken on March 24, transformed into a Supreme War Council, to be called into session only to consider immediate questions. The government of the Peace Conference was at the same time vested in the representatives of four great powers, England, France, Italy, and America. The cause of this change was said to be the desire to make more rapid progress in the multiple matters involved.

Another change was announced on March 28. This consisted of the creation of a new Council of Foreign Ministers and Foreign Secretaries of the great powers, designed to work simultaneously with the Premiers and with President Wilson on different branches of the technical questions involved in the peace settlement.

THE SAAR BASIN

It was definitely stated on March 28 that the French had laid their claims before the Council of Four on that date, asking, first, that France's boundaries,

as fixed by the treaty of Paris of May 30, 1814,* be restored to her, together with the Saar Basin. In the Rhine province, on the left bank of the river, it was stipulated that the Germans should have political autonomy, but should not be permitted to establish fortifications, occupy the territory with armed troops, or control the railways. Thus the Rhine would serve France as a natural frontier.

The final decisions of the Peace Conference as to the disposition of the French claims were at first withheld officially, although it was stated semi-officially on April 14 that the differences over the future safety of France had been harmonized in a way to satisfy the French. Later, however, the situation was clarified. A decision affecting the disposition of the Saar Valley, it was stated, was reached on April 15.

The coal mines themselves were to be given to France outright. The remaining point at issue, the character of the political administration of this territory, was settled by the decision to give it into the holding of the League of Nations for fifteen years—the League to appoint an international commission to administer the region politically, while France should operate the coal mines. At the end of the fifteen years specified, the people of the Saar Basin were to determine by a popular vote whether they should return to German sovereignty or be united with France.

THE RHINE DEMILITARIZED

France's demand that the Rhine provinces be erected into an independent "buffer" State, so as to give France additional security against future German aggression, was to be satisfied by the solution of demilitarization. It was stated that there would be no buffer State—the Rhine provinces were to remain under German political administration—but the whole Rhine territory was

to be demilitarized—not merely the provinces lying between the Rhine and the French border, but the area for fifty kilometers (about thirty-one miles) on the east side of the river. Here there were to be no forts, no military depots, no soldiers, no sidings for troop trains—nothing, in short, that would enable Germany to mobilize an army quickly in this area for an attack on France.

The decision of the Peace Conference to settle the Danzig dispute by internationalizing that port is treated in the Polish article, Pages 299-301.

ITALIAN-JUGOSLAV BOUNDARIES

It was reported from Paris on March 21 that the Italian delegation had decided to withdraw from the conference unless Fiume were assigned to Italy, but this was never confirmed.

Italy's attitude had been stated by Premier Orlando in the Italian Chamber of Deputies March 1, when he declared that while Italy remained "faithful to the spirit of conciliation which inspired the treaty upon which Italy entered the war," this did not mean that she could "remain insensible to the appeal reaching her from the Italian town on the Gulf of Quarnero, (Fiume)," which was "exposed to the loss of both its nationality and independence. We do not think," added the Premier, "that this is possible at the very moment when it is wished that the world may be redeemed from a memory of violence done to the rights of peoples."

There had been several "incidents" at Fiume and other points in the territory claimed by Italy and Jugoslavia since the signing of the armistice, and the feud at one time grew so bitter that Italy cut off food shipments to the interior. This matter was adjusted by the Supreme Council in Paris, and reports seemed to indicate that an amicable settlement of the conflicting claims was possible.

The Italian delegation, however, had answered all suggestions of a settlement which did not include the cession of Fiume to Italy with the assertion that any consent to such a solution would be useless, as neither the Italian Parliament nor the Italian people would ratify such

*The Treaty of Paris in 1814 provided that France should relinquish her claims on Belgium and the left bank of the Rhine and return to the boundaries as they existed in 1792, before the Revolution. This compelled France to confine herself to the Provinces of Alsace and Lorraine, west of the Rhine, those territories having been under French control since 1689.

an agreement for the abandonment of what they considered "the indispensable completion of the mother country." This question remained one of the most acute problems still calling for solution.

GERMAN PROTESTS

Various preliminary statements issued in Berlin indicated that Germany was resolved to use President Wilson's fourteen principles as the basis of protests against certain provisions of the treaty. Count von Bernstorff, former German Ambassador to the United States, in a Berlin interview printed by the Paris Temps on March 25, expressed the German frame of mind as follows:

The armistice of Nov. 11 was signed when all the powers interested had accepted the program of peace proposed by President Wilson. Germany is determined to keep to this agreement, which history will regard, in a way, as the conclusion of a preliminary peace. She herself is ready to submit to the conditions arising from it, and she expects all the interested powers to do the same. If these essential conditions of the Wilson program should be violated or neglected, and especially if conditions are imposed which go beyond the program, the German delegates would unfortunately find themselves in a position to say, Non possumus.

Count von Bernstorff advocated a plebiscite for Alsace-Lorraine and German Austria. He continued:

Germany's attitude on indemnities is fixed by her acceptance of the note of Nov. 5, 1918, whereby reparation is accorded for all damage done to the civil populations of France and Belgium by German aggression. This note admits of the payment of no other indemnities.

Other German expressions of public opinion and the whole tone of the German press implied an intention not to sign the peace treaty if it contained certain territorial changes. Not only the claims to Danzig and the Saar Valley, but also the claims to Malmedy were included among the demands which the German Government was called upon to refuse. Dr. Schiffer, Minister of Finance in the new Cabinet, as reported in the Tageszeitung, declared to a crowd before the Chancellor's palace that he took a solemn oath that the Government would not surrender to the enemy one inch of

German territory, either east or west. He was later succeeded in the Cabinet by Dr. Dernburg. In the Prussian Assembly, similarly, on March 25, Premier Hirsch asserted that the Government had no thought of abandoning the eastern districts of the State, and that he considered it its chief duty to ward off attacks, especially on West Prussia, Posen, and Upper Silesia.

RESOLUTION OF PROTEST

On March 26 the Prussian National Assembly voted unanimously against the relinquishment by Germany of any of the Rhine territory, especially the Saar Basin. A German Government wireless message stated on April 11 that the Weimar National Assembly had accepted a resolution, supported by all parties except the Independent Socialists, demanding a peace treaty corresponding with President Wilson's fourteen points, and declaring that "a peace of justice must not inflict upon us any changes in territory in violation of that program." The substance of this resolution was given by Count von Brockdorff-Rantzae, speaking before the Weimar Assembly on the day before. He said in part:

The financial demands to be made in the peace treaty are obviously causing as much difficulty to our opponents as those regarding territory. It is impossible to solve the question of financial claims without negotiating with our experts at the conference table. We will give a clear account to our opponents relative to their demands and our ability to pay.

Our opponents cannot dismember and paralyze Germany and at the same time extract from the resources of the country the enormous sums they expect from them. For that purpose we require the release, industrially and agriculturally, of the important west, which, contrary to the armistice terms, is cut off from the rest of Germany.

We need to have the blockade speedily raised and we require the importation of foodstuffs on conditions which will make their purchase possible.

All the States which participated in this war find themselves in the same distress, and hardly a nation is not disappointed by a peace that is a terrible danger because of the encouragement given by it to disruptive forces.

A similar disposition to protest was seen in the response of the German Gov-

ernment to the notes of the President of the Interallied Armistice Commission, which met the German representatives at Cologne to arrange for the regulation of German exports and a system of blacklists. This statement said that the adoption of the system intended by the Allies was in contradiction to the basic principles of the peace which had been solemnly announced as including the greatest possible economic freedom for trade of all peoples; that it was irreconcilable with the interests of German industrial life, and consequently with those also of the allied countries.

EBERT'S EASTER MESSAGE

President Ebert of Germany addressed the following Easter message to the National Assembly on April 15:

The National Assembly, as the competent representative of the German people, expressed unanimously on April 10 the expectation that the Government would agree only to a peace based on understanding and reconciliation, and would reject any treaty which would sacrifice the present and future of the German people and the world.

I welcome this pronouncement as a declaration of the inflexible will of the German people that the coming peace shall be a peace of lasting understanding and conciliation among the nations, and that it must thus give Germany the possibility of permanently observing the principle of understanding and conciliation.

The National Assembly and the Government are working with devotion and energy to fulfill the great task of giving peace, bread, work, and a new Constitution to a great nation.

The task is difficult to fulfill as long as those who have it in their power to give the world peace allow themselves to be dominated by feelings of hatred and revenge, and by means of the hunger blockade and by threatening our annihilation are driving the German people to despair.

Five months ago we accepted our enemies' terms. We agreed with them on the basis for a conclusion of peace; we have fulfilled the hard armistice conditions, disbanded our army, and surrendered enemy prisoners, but peace is still withheld from us. Though defenseless and economically exhausted, we are still cut off by the blockade and our prisoners are still detained, which is equivalent to a continuation of the war.

It is a burden such as no nation has as yet been compelled to endure. We have

done everything to obtain peace from our enemies and to liberate our nation from this intolerable torture. The responsibility for all the consequences which must follow the continuance of the present situation for us and the world must fall on their shoulders.

RESPONSIBILITY FOR WAR

The question of the responsibility for the war, and the possibility that the ex-Kaiser would be placed on trial for his life, had been widely discussed. On March 30 it was announced from Paris that the Commission on Responsibility for the War had decided:

First, solemnly to condemn the violation of neutrality and all the crimes committed by the Central Empires.

Second, to urge the appointment of an international tribunal to judge all those responsible, including the former German Emperor.

A report from the Commission on Responsibility was laid before the Conference, and was under discussion on April 9. To this report Mr. Lansing, President of the commission, and the Japanese representative had made reservations disagreeing with certain conclusions of the majority.

From the outset of the discussions in the Commission on Responsibility there was an effort on the part of the French, British, and other nations to prove that the Kaiser deserved death. Many precedents were cited to show that this punishment would be consistent with the treatment of other tyrannical and irresponsible monarchs. But references to the execution of Mary Queen of Scots, Charles I., Louis XVI., and Marie Antoinette did not hold good under the application of latter-day conceptions of justice.

It was finally agreed that on legal grounds Wilhelm could not be held responsible for bringing on the war, and on that point all the members of the commission were united in their suggestions to the Council. But the French, British, Italian, and smaller nationalities represented in the commission's personnel believed that political exigencies demanded that he be dealt with severely.

Secretary Lansing submitted a separate memorandum in which Wilhelm's culpa-

bility was considered from a legal point of view. While the overwhelming majority of the commission contended that the Kaiser was responsible largely for the acts in violation of the rules of war committed by his land and naval forces, Mr. Lansing took the ground that what was done in his name was sustained by his own people, and that he could not be held legally culpable for that reason. At the same time there was no effort on Mr. Lansing's part, it was stated, to prove that Wilhelm and his principal advisers were entitled to be let off without punishment.

REPARATIONS

Both Lloyd George and Clemenceau had promised their constituents that Germany would be made to pay the full amount of what the war had cost the Allies. This integral cost was estimated by the British at \$120,000,000,000 and by the French as high as \$200,000,000,-000. The financial experts, however, concluded that the payment of any such sum by Germany was impossible, and finally estimated a possible reparation payment at from \$20,000,000,000 to \$30,000,000,-000, providing the payments were spread over a period of from ten to fifteen years.

On April 14 it was announced that the important and embarrassing question of reparations was practically out of the way. Germany was to be made to pay "every cent the traffic would bear." The damages she inflicted were to be assessed under six categories. Within two years after the treaty was concluded Germany was to pay about \$5,000,000,000 cash. By May 1, 1921, an allied commission was to report how much she owed the Allies under the six categories. Allied commissions were to meet annually and assess Germany on her national annual earnings. The amount of actual total reparational damages was not stated, but estimates as to how much Germany will ultimately have to pay varied from \$25,000,000,000 upward.

The tentative scheme of distribution advanced by Great Britain and France apportioned about 85 per cent. of the total sum realized to these powers, leaving about 15 per cent. to satisfy the

demands of Belgium, Italy, Serbia, Rumania, Russia, and others. The first \$5,000,000,000 to be paid by Germany within two years was assigned to the payment of the expenses of the Rhine armies of occupation.

The six categories decided upon included reparation for actual damage to life and property, pensions for cripples and the families of slain soldiers, compensation for enforced labor exacted from inhabitants of occupied territories, including work done by deported Belgians, remuneration for illegally exacted labor by prisoners of war, and payments for German requisitions in occupied territories. No offset was allowed Germany for the upkeep of allied prisoners of war in Germany, because of the sending of food by the Allies, without which the prisoners could not have subsisted, and of the labor exacted by their German captors.

RUSSIAN RELIEF PROPOSED

On April 10 President Wilson, after deliberations with Hjalmar Branting, the Swedish Socialist Minister; Dr. Fridtjof Nansen, head of the Norwegian Food Mission to the United States, and several other prominent Scandinavian and Swiss subjects, in combined meeting with Herbert Hoover, Director General of Interallied Relief, and other members of the Interallied Relief Council, presented a proposition by the Council of Four to send food to Soviet Russia on condition that the Bolsheviks ceased hostilities. This plan met with serious opposition, especially by the French, on the ground that it would constitute recognition of the Bolshevik Government.

Dr. Nansen was anxious that the re-victualing plan be adopted speedily, so that food ships could approach Petrograd as soon as the ice broke up. He estimated the death rate at 200,000 monthly, directly or indirectly due to starvation. He said that the world could not stand idly by and watch women and children starve. Virtually all children of less than 2 years are now dead in Petrograd, according to Dr. Nansen, and conditions are terrible beyond description in the orphans' homes and hospitals.

Premier Clemenceau withheld his ap-

proval of the proposition temporarily, but added his signature on April 17 to those of Premiers Orlando and Lloyd George and President Wilson, thus practically assuring immediate economic relief of Soviet Russia, as Lenin was known to be willing to accept food on the conditions outlined by Dr. Nansen and discussed with the Bolsheviks by various neutral representatives at Moscow.

The correspondence between Dr. Nansen and the Council of Four, which had led to this important decision, was made public on April 17. Dr. Nansen's letter of April 3 read as follows:

The present food situation in Russia, where hundreds of thousands of people are dying monthly from sheer starvation and disease, is one of the problems now uppermost in all men's minds. As it appears that no solution of this food question has so far been reached in any delegation, I would like to make a suggestion from a neutral point of view for the benefit of this gigantic misery, on purely humanitarian grounds.

It would appear to me possible to organize a purely humanitarian committee for the provisioning of Russia, the foodstuffs and medical supplies to be paid for, perhaps to some considerable extent, by Russia itself, the justice of distribution to be guaranteed by a committee. The general makeup of the commission would be comprised of Norwegians, Swedes, and possibly Dutch, Danish, and Swiss nationalities.

It does not appear that the existing authorities in Russia would refuse the intervention of such a committee of a wholly nonpolitical order, devoted solely to the humanitarian service of saving life. If thus organized upon the lines of the Belgian Relief Committee, it would raise no question of political recognition or negotiations between the Allies and the existing authorities in Russia.

I recognize keenly the large political issues involved, and I would be glad to know under what conditions such an enterprise would be approved, and whether such a committee could look for real support in finance and shipping and food and medical supplies from our Governments.

The reply sent by President Wilson and the three Premiers on April 17 said that the Governments and peoples which they represented "would be glad to co-operate, without thought of political, military, or financial advantage, in any proposal which would relieve this situation in Russia," with the obvious proviso, of course, that "such a measure would

involve the cessation of hostilities within definite lines in the territory of Russia." Dr. Nansen's mission was generally regarded as possibly the beginning of the end of the Bolshevik war.

MEDITERRANEAN BLOCKADE LIFTED

On March 28 the Council of Foreign Ministers and Foreign Secretaries decided that the blockade of German Austria would be lifted as soon as measures could be perfected for preventing imports into that territory being re-exported to Germany. On April 1 it was announced that it had been decided to raise the blockade of German Austria, Poland, Estonia, Turkey, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, and the territories occupied by Rumania and Serbia. Regarding German Austria, prohibition was maintained against trade in a few articles, chiefly of a military nature. The International Trade Commission, sitting at Vienna, was to exercise supervision to prevent re-exportation to Germany. This partial relaxation of the blockade with rigid control decided on by the Supreme War Council was to take effect on April 2. Official notice of this action was given in the United States by the War Trade Board on April 1, in a statement issued over the name of the Chairman, authorizing trade and communication with German Austria under the limitations provided.

CABLES NOT PRIZES

The American view that submarine cables were not prizes of war was upheld by the War Council on March 24. This decision, long pending, affected thirteen German cables, including those to America and several in the Pacific, connecting former German colonies.

The Commission on the Regulation of Ports, Waterways, and Railroads by April 8 had completed a report which provided for freedom of transportation for the newly created States in Europe through the central enemy countries, for equality of treatment in ports and harbors, and the international regulation of traffic over the Rhine and Danube Rivers, to which the most important sections of the report were devoted.

League of Nations Covenant

Important Amendments Made

THE covenant of the League of Nations proved during April to be a more fruitful subject of discussion in America than any other question relating to the Peace Conference. The controversy assumed a bitter tone, and produced a definite line of cleavage between political parties. It was clear that influential public sentiment in the United States was not satisfied with the original draft, and that important changes would be required before the plan could receive the sanction of the Senate. A notable contribution to the discussion was a public debate at Boston on March 19 between A. Lawrence Lowell, President of Harvard University, and Henry Cabot Lodge, the ranking Republican member of the Foreign Relations Committee in the United States Senate, to which committee the covenant will be first referred when it reaches the Senate for ratification. President Lowell favored the covenant as a whole, but thought it was faulty in construction, somewhat loosely drawn, and required some amendments. Senator Lodge strongly opposed the covenant as drawn, but declared he favored the principle of a League of Nations to insure the peace of the world.

Public statements were made by former Secretary of State Root and by former Justice of the Supreme Court Hughes in opposition to the covenant, and both proposed important amendments. With the exception of former President Taft the leaders of the Republican Party everywhere—also many influential Democrats—opposed the covenant, and it was believed by many that as first drafted it could not receive even a majority vote in the Senate.

WORKING ON AMENDMENTS

After the return of President Wilson to Paris in March the League of Nations Commission, of which he was Chairman, resumed its sessions. A general conference was held to which the neutral nations were invited. Their views were given respecting the original cove-

nant, and various amendments suggested. This was followed by frequent sessions of the League Commission, but no authorized statements of its proceedings in detail were made public. It was announced that the original draft was being revised section by section, and that the opinions of leading publicists were being considered in the revision.

On March 26 President Wilson issued a statement in which he denied that discussions of the League were in any way delaying the conclusion of peace. He said:

During the last few days the Commission has been engaged in an effort to take advantage of the criticisms which the publication of the covenant has fortunately drawn out. A committee of the Commission has also had the advantage of a conference with representatives of the neutral States, who are evidencing a very deep interest and a practically unanimous desire to align themselves with the League.

The revised covenant is now practically finished. It is in the hands of a committee for the final process of drafting, and will almost immediately be presented a second time to the public.

The conferences of the Commission have invariably been held at times when they could not interfere with the consultation of those who have undertaken to formulate the general conclusions of the Conference with regard to the many other complicated problems of peace. So that the members of the Commission congratulate themselves on the fact that no part of their conferences has ever interposed any form of delay.

PREPARING THE REVISION

At the meeting on March 26 President Wilson, as Chairman of the Commission, nominated Signor Orlando, Baron Makino, General Smuts, and Colonel House as members of a committee to consider the question of the locality of the seat of the League. At this meeting it was announced that the amending of the covenant had been concluded. The Chairman appointed Lord Robert Cecil, M. Larnaudie, M. Venizelos, and Colonel House as a committee to draft the

amendments into the revision of the covenant.

The Committee on Revision presented the new draft of the covenant to the League of Nations Commission on April 11. On April 12 an official summary of the revised covenant was issued at Paris through Colonel House. It indicated that the new version differed radically in phraseology from the first draft.

MONROE DOCTRINE RECOGNIZED

Important changes had been incorporated, among them being an amendment that added these words to Article X. regarding the obligation of the nations to respect each other's territory, and to guarantee each other against foreign aggression:

ARTICLE X.—A—Nothing in this covenant shall be deemed to affect the validity of international engagements, such as treaties of arbitration or regional understandings like the Monroe Doctrine, for securing the maintenance of peace.

[The text of Article X. as it stood in the first published draft of the League of Nations covenant was as follows: "The high contracting parties shall undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression of territorial integrity and existing political independence of all States members of the League. In case of any such aggression or in case of any threat or danger of such aggression the Executive Council shall advise upon the means by which the obligation shall be fulfilled."]

The French representative, Leon Bourgeois, led the opposition to the Monroe Doctrine clause. He contended that it had not been adopted and was still open to rejection or amendment. His main argument was that under this amendment the United States was relieved of the responsibility of coming to the assistance of France or any other European nation that might be attacked by Germany. The French delegates also made an effort to include in the covenant a provision for a permanent League Military Staff, but this did not receive general assent.

OTHER IMPORTANT CHANGES

Among other changes from the original draft was one requiring a unanimous vote in both the Assembly of

States and the Governing Executive Council in any decision upon a matter "of international interest or threatening the peace of the world." In the original, unanimous consent was required excepting the parties to a dispute. This change was intended to make it clear that no nation surrendered its sovereignty or right of individual action through membership in the League.

Another change required each member State to approve recommendations of the Council as to the amount of armed force, if any, to be supplied by those States to act on behalf of the League in moving against a State which had broken the covenant. Opponents of the constitution as originally drawn insisted that this section took away from Congress the power to declare war and might force the United States to send its soldiers or sailors into battle in some far-off corner of the earth for a cause in which the country was not interested.

The same kind of change was made in the sections relating to disarmament and the administration of mandates over the former German colonies and territories of the Ottoman Empire. It was specifically provided that suggestions of the Council for reduction of armaments should be adopted only with the consent of the affected States themselves. Provision was made for the holding of mandates by States which were "willing" to be mandataries.

The right was given any State to withdraw from the League on two years' notice, provided such State "has kept its obligations to date." The failure of the first draft to make any provision for withdrawal from the League had been the subject of much discussion.

Amendments to the covenant under the new draft required the approval of all States of the Council—the five great powers and four other nations to be selected and "a simple majority in the Assembly," which is composed of all representatives of all member States. Originally a three-fourths majority was required in the Assembly.

Another addition set forth that the number of powers of each class represented on the Council could be increased

by the unanimous consent of the Council and a majority of the Assembly.

Other new provisions included the accepting by member States of certain responsibilities with regard to labor conditions, treatment of natives, white slave traffic, the arms traffic with uncivilized and semi-civilized countries, transit and trade conditions, Public Health and Red Cross Societies, and formal recognition of the League as the central body interested in co-ordinating and assisting international activities generally.

GENEVA THE HEADQUARTERS

At the meeting of the commission on the 10th, Geneva, Switzerland, was chosen as the permanent seat of the League of Nations. There was a division on this question, the issue being between Brussels and Geneva. M. Hymans, the chief Belgian representative on the commission, gave as one of the reasons for the desirability of choosing Brussels that it was necessary to have the League offices located in the devastated area in order that the hatred engendered by the war should not be forgotten. In answering this contention President Wilson, who spoke with deep feeling, held that this was the very reason why the seat of the League should not be in the devastated region. The League of Nations, he said, was a league of peace; its object was to prevent wars. For this reason it should be located in a neutral country, removed from reminders of the enmities and miseries the war had brought.

Of the five great powers, America, Great Britain, Italy, and Japan voted for Geneva, while of the remaining nations only France, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, and China voted for Brussels. It was stated that the vote stood 12 for Geneva, 7 for Brussels.

RACE DISCRIMINATION

The commission rejected an amendment offered by the Japanese delegates for incorporating into the preamble a declaration on "racial equality." It failed to receive unanimous approval and hence was declared rejected. The official statement on this subject, issued April 12, said:

At a meeting of the League of Nations Commission on Friday, April 11, the Japanese delegation proposed an amendment to the preamble of the covenant, as follows: To insert after the words "by the prescription of open, just, and honorable relations between nations" an additional clause, to read: "By the indorsement of the principle of the equality of nations and just treatment of their nationals."

The amendment was admirably presented by Baron Makino. In the course of his speech he emphasized the great desire of the Japanese Government and of the Japanese people that such a principle be recognized in the covenant. His argument was supported with great force by Viscount Chinda.

A discussion followed, in which practically all the members of the commission participated. The discussion was marked by breadth of thought, free and sympathetic exchange of opinion, and a complete appreciation by the members of the commission of the difficulties which lay in the way of either accepting or rejecting the amendment.

The commission was impressed by the justice of the Japanese claim and by the spirit in which it was presented. Mention was frequently made in the course of the discussion of the fact that the covenant provided for the representation of Japan on the Executive Council as one of the five great powers, and that a rejection of the proposed amendment could not, therefore, be construed as diminishing the prestige of Japan.

Various members of the commission, however, felt that they could not vote for its specific inclusion in the covenant. Therefore the commission was reluctantly unable to give to the amendment that unanimous approval which is necessary for its adoption.

The Japanese delegates announced that they reserved the right to bring the amendment before a plenary session of the Conference. The chief opposition to the Japanese proposal came from Australia.

The French delegation voted for the adoption of the text of the covenant as redrafted, but made reservations as to two points—first, the organization and effective control of the manufacture of war material, and, second, the institution of permanent military control.

This issue of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE is closed on April 18. The Plenary Council up to that date had not convened to act finally upon the draft as agreed to by the commission.

International Labor Commission

Regulating the World's Wage Problems

THE final report of the International Labor Commission was presented before the fourth plenary session of the Peace Conference on April 11. This commission had been appointed at the plenary session of Jan. 18. Its personnel consisted of fifteen members, representing the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, Belgium, Cuba, Poland, and Czechoslovakia. Thirty-five meetings were held. The report was finished March 24, and was made public April 3. Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, presided as general Chairman over the meetings, which, according to a statement made subsequently by Mr. Gompers, lasted, on an average, from three to seven hours.

The report contained a draft convention creating a permanent organization for promoting international regulation of labor conditions, a recommendation for an international labor conference, and detailed labor terms to be inserted in the Peace Treaty. The preamble of the report was as follows:

Conditions of labor exist involving such injustice, hardship, and privation to large numbers of people as to produce unrest so great that the peace and harmony of the world is imperiled, and the improvement of those conditions is urgently requested, as, for example, by regulation of hours of work, including the establishment of a maximum working day and week, regulation of the labor supply, prevention of unemployment, provision of an adequate living wage, protection of the worker against sickness, disease, and injury arising out of his employment, the protection of children and young persons and women, provision for old age and injury, protection of interests of workers when employed in other countries than their own, recognition of the principle of freedom of association, and organizing of technical, vocational, educational, and other measures.

PERMANENT ORGANIZATION

The establishment of a permanent labor organization to remedy industrial evils and injustices "which mar the present state of society" was viewed as

indispensable. In working toward the achievement of the object of the League of Nations, the report said, every State a member of the League felt morally bound to accept the principles above enunciated and to participate in the labor organization as a condition to membership in the League.

The International Labor Conference is to meet at least once a year and to consist of four representatives from each State, including two representing the Government, one the employers, and one the workers. Each delegation may have two advisers, one of whom must be a woman. When questions affecting women are under discussion, the voting shall be individual, and not according to the traditional procedure of voting. Employers and employes, the report said, must be able to express their views with complete freedom and frankness if the conference is really to be representative of all concerned with industry.

The first meeting was recommended for next October at Washington. The program was to sanction the principle of the eight-hour day and the forty-eight-hour week and the prevention of unemployment; to regulate women's employment before and after childbirth; to prohibit women's and children's employment during the night or in unhealthy processes; to fix a minimum age for the employment of children, and to seek the extension of the international conventions adopted at Berne in 1906 prohibiting night work by women and the use of white phosphorus in the manufacture of matches.

INTERNATIONAL LABOR OFFICE

The report said that an international labor office was to be established at the seat of the League of Nations, as a part of the League, to collect and distribute information on the international adjustment of conditions of industrial life and labor—subjects which it was proposed to bring before the conference—

on the conduct of special investigations as ordered by the conference. This office would be charged with the preparation of agenda for the conference and the publication of a newspaper in the French, English, and other languages.

Its duties in general would be to act as a clearing house on matters relating to the international interests of labor.

This office was to be controlled by a governing body of twenty-four members, of whom twelve were to be selected by delegates at a conference representing employers and workers respectively.

The most difficult question, said the report, was the method of making the recommendations effective, especially in view of the amendment of the Constitutions of States, of control of labor legislation as opposed to Federal control. It was finally agreed that the proposals should take the form either of recommendations to be submitted to the various nations prior to being carried out by legislation or of a draft convention to be ratified as a treaty.

Machinery also had been provided by which a State failing to carry out its obligations may be subjected to pressure.

PRINCIPLE OF SELF-DETERMINATION

A clause incorporated in the report recognized the principle of self-determination in labor questions. This clause provided that "no recommendation or draft convention shall in any case be accepted or applied so as to diminish the protection already accorded to workers by the existing laws of any of the high contracting parties." The intention of this clause was stated to be the safeguarding of legislation already in effect in any country which might be regarded by that country as better for the workers than that recommended by the Labor Bureau. The Labor Bureau definitely decided that the findings of the bureau must be supported by moral suasion in countries where special problems exist, rather than by invoking any force which the League of Nations might offer. Recommendations embodied in the report included the following:

Employers and workers should have the

right of association for all lawful purposes.

No child should be permitted to be employed in industry or commerce before the age of fourteen, in order that every child may have reasonable opportunities for mental and physical education. Between the years of fourteen and eighteen young persons of either sex may be employed at work which is not harmful to their physical development on condition that their technical or general education is assured.

Every worker should have the right to a wage adequate to maintain a reasonable standard of life, having regard to the civilization of his time and his country.

Equal pay should be given to women and men for work of equal value in quantity and quality.

AN EIGHT-HOUR DAY

Limitation was recommended of the hours of work in industry on the basis of eight hours per day and forty-eight hours per week, subject to exception in countries in which climatic conditions, imperfect development of industrial organization, or other special circumstances render the industrial efficiency of the workers substantially different. The International Labor Conference was to recommend a basis approximately equivalent to the above for the adoption of such countries.

It was recommended that, in all matters concerning their status as workers, and in social insurance, foreign workmen, lawfully admitted to another country, and their families, should have a guarantee of the same treatment as the nationals of that country. All States should institute a system of inspection in which women should take part, in order to insure the enforcement of the laws and regulations for the protection of workers.

Before the report was adopted, Emile Vandervelde, the Belgian labor delegate, made what was, in effect, a minority report. He advocated the admission to the International Labor Conference of delegates from countries with which a state of war still existed, saying that otherwise he felt there might be held another conference at which the proletariat from all countries would be represented and which would wield more power than the conference to be held in Washington next October.

SUMMARY BY MR. GOMPERS

Samuel Gompers returned to the United States from Paris, where he had headed the American labor delegation, on April 11. In his first public utterance after his return Mr. Gompers gave some interesting details about the working out of the Labor Commission report accepted by the Peace Conference. Mr. Gompers said:

I was perfectly satisfied before leaving that the convention we drafted would be accepted by the Peace Commission. It was an instrument that can only make for the good of working people of all countries of the world. It provides the machinery for international conferences, to be held annually, and for a governing board in the interim, or, as is the case in the League of Nations covenant, a sort of Executive Council.

Great difficulty was experienced in arranging it so that the United States could become a party to the agreement. That was because of our dual form of

Government, in which the individual States and not Congress make the labor legislation. Congress, therefore, could not make an international agreement on certain points without trespassing on the powers of the States. It was decided, however, that the United States could deal by treaty with such matters as Congress did control, such as interstate commerce and the commerce of the seas, and that in some of the other matters the consent of the duly constituted State authorities would be necessary to make the convention binding on them.

The right to deal with sea commerce covered the matter of our Seaman's act. Some other maritime powers having in the past objected to certain of its features, it was necessary to protect this act. I was chosen to draw up a protocol for this purpose, and one was drawn up that provided, in effect, that no Government should be required to enforce any agreement of the convention that would lower its present standards. The Seaman's act now allows for the very highest standards, and so this protocol will protect it.

CURRENT HISTORY IN BRIEF

[PERIOD ENDED APRIL 18, 1919]

SURRENDER OF THE AUSTRIAN FLEET

Nearly five months after the armistice was signed Austrian warships were handed over to Italy. The ceremony took place March 26 at Venice, in the presence of King Victor Emmanuel. Admiral Del Bono, Minister of the Navy, and other authorities went to meet the ships five miles outside Venice Harbor. The delay in the consignment of the fleet was due to one of the last acts of the Emperor Charles of Austria, who, by an imperial decree, handed the entire Austro-Hungarian fleet over to those Jugoslavs who had been his most faithful supporters to the very last days of the war. By that act he hoped to prevent it from falling into the hands of Italy. He actually succeeded in delaying this transfer for five months.

The Jugoslavs particularly favored by the Hapsburgs were the Croats and Slovines—a distinction must be made between them and the Serbians and Bosnians. It was to the Croats and Slovines

that the Austrian fleet was specially assigned. They took immediate possession of the Austrian ships, and when, after the armistice was signed, the Italian fleet steamed into Pola it was received with sullen demonstrations by the Jugoslavs of Croatia and Slovenia, who refused to hand over the Austrian Navy and were on the verge of open hostility to Italy. It required five months' patient waiting and negotiations before Italy obtained her rights.

Venice was decorated, and presented a festive appearance for this occasion. King Victor Emmanuel and the official party set out on board the Audace, together with the British, French, and Japanese Naval Attachés, to meet the ex-enemy fleet, which, escorted by Italian warships, was encountered five miles outside Venice. The sight was an impressive one. The last vestige of the former great military empire was represented by this fleet. The vessels were steaming slowly, in single file, without

any flag, and manned by Italian sailors. First came two modern cruisers, the Admiral Spaun and the Franz Ferdinand. Then the dreadnought Admiral von Tegethoff, and finally a numerous flotilla of torpedo boats, destroyers, and submarines. The engines were stopped, and the fleet remained motionless. The destroyer Audace, with the King and the official party on board, then steamed round the entire fleet, which was thus passed in review by King Victor Emmanuel, and when this ceremony was over the captured warships slowly started for the port of Venice, where they appeared at 3 o'clock. Their arrival was hailed by a vast crowd assembled on the quays, all the bells of the Venice churches pealed out, and sirens were sounded in sign of public rejoicing.

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AUSTRO-GERMAN ATROCITIES IN VENETIA

THE first volume of the Royal Commission's report on Austro-German atrocities in the invaded Venetian provinces, which was published in Rome April 6, abounds in heartrending stories, many of which will not bear reproduction in this magazine. Immediately after the invasion the average death rate bounded up from 22 to 65 per 1,000 inhabitants, and some 37,000 civilians succumbed to ill-treatment.

In the Alpine City of Feltre alone one-fourth of the total population died, those lodged in public institutions. As an instance of the amazing barbarities to which the people of that town were subjected there may be cited the case of one Della Caneva. After he had rescued a girl of his family from the outrages of five Hungarian officers he was stripped naked and, after an entire bottle of brandy had been forced down his throat, his beard and eyelids were burned off with a lighted candle and his body was cauterized all over with a red-hot iron. His martyrdom lasted for several hours. The tortures were stopped, as the tormentors were proceeding to further indescribable atrocities.

Out of 16,000 civilians deported to be interned in camps of Germany and Austria-Hungary, 3,000 perished from star-

vation. As for the Italian military prisoners, who numbered 570,000, the official lists already forwarded show over 43,000 deaths. This average proportion of 75 per 1,000 captives represents a mortality rate eight times greater than that among the enemy prisoners held in Italy, and a similar rate among the population of the Central Empires would amount to 8,000,000 deaths per annum.

The Royal Commission calculates the minimum indemnity due to Italy for actual damage at \$30,000,000,000.

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BELGIAN TREASURES VALUED AT \$500,000,- 000 RESTORED

BELGIUM'S national treasures, valued at \$500,000,000, were transported from London to Brussels on March 16, 1919. They consisted of thousands of sealed packages containing bullion, scrip, and all the valuable State documents of the Belgian Government and Crown, including a large number of secret papers which belonged to the late King Leopold.

The assets of the Post Office Savings Bank—a great deal in actual cash—also formed part of the cargo, which is described as the most valuable load ever taken across the seas.

When the Germans made their onslaught on Belgium, the national treasures were hurried across to England piecemeal, any reasonably safe method of transit being adopted. On arrival in England they were all assembled at the Bank of England, where they have been kept since.

The task of getting them back to Belgium was one of great responsibility, and every precaution was taken to insure secrecy and safety. The cargo was sent in special trains to Tilbury in the charge of bank and Government officials. At Tilbury docks three special ships of the John Cockerill Line were waiting to take it across. Ten or twelve "watchers" mounted guard on the voyage. The vessels were escorted by destroyers as far as Dutch waters.

At Antwerp the cargo was transferred to special trains and carried to Brussels, where it was received by officials of the Belgian Government.

BELGIUM GRANTS PARTIAL SUFFRAGE FOR WOMEN

THE Belgian Chamber of Deputies on April 11 adopted unanimously the Electoral Reform bill after the various political groups had reached an agreement on disputed points. The passage of the bill prevented a Ministerial crisis.

While not giving the vote to all women, the measure gave the ballot to widows who have not remarried, and to the mothers of soldiers killed in battle or of civilians shot by the Germans. It granted universal suffrage to all males over 21 years of age.

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INDEPENDENCE FOR THE FILIPINOS

A DELEGATION of forty prominent Filipinos headed by Manuel Quezon, President of the Filipino Senate, visited Washington on April 4, 1919, to present a memorial asking for complete independence. Secretary of War Baker, who received them, assured them of his agreement with their views, but read to them a letter written by President Wilson to him in which the President, with foreknowledge of the visit and its purpose, expressed the hope that it would gain the desired end.

The fate of the Filipino plea rests with the next Congress.

President Wilson's letter to Secretary Baker under date of March 3 was as follows:

Will you please express to the gentlemen of the commission representing the Philippine Legislature my regret that I shall be unable to see them personally on their arrival in Washington, as well as my hope that their mission will be a source of satisfaction to them, and that it will result in bringing about the desirable ends set forth in the joint resolution of the Legislature approving the sending of the commission to the United States?

I have been deeply gratified with the constant support and encouragement received from the Filipino people and from the Philippine Legislature in the trying period through which we are passing. The people of the United States have, with reason, taken the deepest pride in the loyalty and support of the Filipino people.

Though unable to meet the commission, the Filipino people shall not be absent from my thoughts. Not the least

important labor of the conference which now requires my attention is that of making the pathway of the weaker people of the world less perilous—a labor which should be, and doubtless is, of deep and abiding interest to the Filipino people.

I am sorry that I cannot look into the faces of the gentlemen of this mission of the Philippine Islands and tell them all that I have in mind and heart as I think of the patient labor, with the end almost in sight, undertaken by the American and Filipino people for their permanent benefit. I know, however, that your sentiments are mine in this regard and that you will translate truly to them my own feeling.

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U-BOAT HISTORY

CAPTAIN BARTENBACH, commander of the German submarine bases in Flanders during the war, who commanded the first German submarine and was still in the submarine service of Germany on April 9, 1919, made the official statement that it was an anchored mine, planted by a German U-boat, that sank the British ship with which Lord Kitchener went down.

He stated that the Germans had no submarine base in America, nor did the submarines which operated off the American coast have a mother ship or receive supplies from there; he stated that one submarine that visited America was absent five months. He said the great passenger ship Laconia was sunk by Captain Berger and the Lusitania by Captain Schweiger, both of whom later went down with their submarines. He also declared that the channels for passage of German submarines at Ostend and Zeebrugge were never closed by the obstructions placed there by the British Navy.

Captain Bartenbach was positive that none of his submarine commanders ever fired on or rammed small boats in which survivors were attempting to escape from the wreck.

Any U-boat commander who did such a thing [said the Captain] would be court-martialed first, for inhumanity; second, for idiocy, because he would be wasting time and ammunition and putting his boat crew in jeopardy to no purpose. Some excited people in small boats after their ship had been struck would sometimes declare the submarine had come up near them and tried to run them

down when all the submarine commander was after was to find out the name of the ship he had sunk.

It was announced at London early in the year that out of 203 German submarines lost during the war, 120 were sunk with all on board, and fully half of the crews of the remainder perished. Of 59 British submarines lost, 39 were destroyed by the Germans, 4 were interned, 7 were blown up in the Baltic Sea, 4 were sunk by accident, and 5 were wrecked in collisions. In the course of the war Norway lost 27.6 per cent. of her tonnage, Sweden 14.9, and Denmark 17.1 per cent.

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OFFICIAL GERMAN LOSSES

THE first official figures of German losses during the war were made public on April 12 by Dr. Rubner, Privy Councilor of Prussia, as follows:

The number of soldiers killed outright or who died of wounds was 1,486,952 and soldiers who died of sickness numbered 134,082.

The total number of civilians who died from sickness due to malnutrition is placed at 562,769.

The greatest number of deaths of soldiers from battlefield casualties was during the first year of the war, and amounted to 481,506. Soldiers who died of sickness in that year numbered 24,329.

The battlefield casualties for the second year were 330,332, and the deaths from sickness 30,329.

Battlefield casualties for the third year were 294,743, and deaths from sickness 30,190.

In the fourth year the battlefield casualties were 317,954, and deaths from sickness 38,167.

The number of civilians who died of disease, which Dr. Rubner sets down as "due to the blockade," were for the first year 88,236, for the second year 121,174, the third year 259,627, and the fourth year 293,700.

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THE GERMAN WAR COST

THE German Finance Minister, Dr. Shiffer, announced on March 26 that German revenues from 1914 to the end of 1918 amounted to \$4,250,000,000. The war expenditures totaled \$46,500,000,000, to which should be added the cost of demobilization.

The memorandum showed that war

damages in Germany amounted to \$1,112,000,000, and claims of shipowners to \$375,000,000, and that \$1,125,000,000 was sent for the relief of the families of dead soldiers.

The debts contracted by the Government during the war aggregated \$39,425,000,000, the annual interest on which was \$1,975,000,000.

Dr. Shiffer estimated that the national annual expenditures for the future would be \$4,500,000,000, compared to \$600,000,000 before the war. The annual expenditures of individual States and communes in the future would be \$1,125,000,000, compared to \$750,000,000 before the war.

The total amount to be covered by taxation in the future would be \$4,750,000,000 each year. Before the war \$1,125,000,000 was raised by taxation.

* * *

TOTAL COST OF THE WAR

WHEN the German figures were announced the total cost of the war was figured by experts as exceeding \$250,000,000,000, of which the share of the Allies was \$150,000,000,000, and that of the Central European Powers as \$68,000,000,000.

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MONROE DOCTRINE FLURRY IN MEXICO
GENERAL AMADO AGUIRRE, Under Secretary of Development and Agriculture of Mexico, announced on March 29 that concessions to exploit agricultural lands in Lower California had been granted to Japanese corporations. The affirmation was made that the concessions were fully authorized by the provisions of the Mexican Constitution regarding the area and position of the territory in relation to the ocean shore and the frontier line. There was nothing in the concessions, it was asserted by the Under Secretary, that might possibly lead to difficulties so far as the Monroe Doctrine was concerned. The lands referred to comprised over 800,000 acres acquired by purchase by the California-Mexico Land and Cattle Company of Los Angeles, Cal.

The announcement created a flurry in political circles. The State Department of the United States at once instituted an inquiry, and within a few days

official disclaimers were issued by the Mexican and Japanese authorities; the statement of the Under Secretary was ascribed to political intrigue, and the matter was allowed to rest after the official denials. The excitement in Washington and along the Pacific Coast had demonstrated that alert watchfulness was being maintained respecting the inviolability of the Monroe Doctrine.

* * *

SOCIALIST LABOR LEADER CONVICTED

EUGENE DEBS, who had been the Socialist candidate for President of the United States in two national elections, failed in an application before the United States Supreme Court for a rehearing of his appeal from conviction and sentence to ten years' imprisonment for violating the Espionage act. In filing his motion for a rehearing, Debs held that the court's opinion amounted to the trial of a person for an undisclosed "state of mind," that the privilege of showing his motive in making the speech for which he was convicted was denied him, and that the court had failed to decide all the questions presented to it for review.

The prosecution resulted from statements made by Debs in a speech in Canton, Ohio, last June. The Supreme Court affirmed the conviction on March 10. The Attorney General refused to join in a petition for Executive clemency. A petition for his pardon was sent to President Wilson, but he had not acted up to April 18. The imprisonment term commenced April 13.

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A SPECIMEN OF BOLSHEVIST TERRORISM

AN Englishman, who was for eight years in business in Petrograd, related his experiences to British officials as follows:

I was arrested just because I was an Englishman. As a matter of fact, I went voluntarily to the Chief Commissary in obedience to a decree to register as a manager of a business, and to do compulsory labor, which I found involved the collection and burial of typhus and cholera corpses and cleaning the streets. As soon as he heard that I was an Englishman the Commissary—an ignorant peasant, possessing the power of life and death—ordered my arrest. I was at once

marched through the streets to prison under an armed escort. For three months I inhabited a cell which contained 150 victims. At first they were all better-class people, but gradually soldiers, workmen, and peasants drifted in, showing that people of this class were also being terrorized. In another part of the prison 500 officers were detained as hostages, to be shot in the event of any attack on a Bolshevik leader. About eight inmates of my own cell were shot on the charge of having relations with the British. The nervous strain was tremendous, for daily an official entered and called out a number of names. Whether the people concerned were to be executed, released, or transferred to another prison no one knew. At night the scenes were awful, the poor, distraught prisoners screaming and shrieking in their periods of semi-consciousness.

After three months of this sort of thing I supposed that I had been forgotten, and, as I had not been accused of any crime, entered an official protest. Once more I was hauled before the same ignorant savage who ordered my arrest for re-examination. He was livid with rage, and his eyes almost started from his head as he accused me of one ridiculous thing after the other. Seeing that with these charges he hadn't a leg to stand on, he fell back on his original statement that I was an English spy, and that I was to be removed and shot. I thought that this really was the end, and I was in daily expectation of death. Once more I was marched through the streets to prison, but at the end of a week my name, together with those of three others, was called out one morning. To my astonishment and relief I was released, and, needless to say, wasted no time in asking the reason, but got out of Russia at the earliest possible moment.

* * *

IRELAND'S UNREST

DISORDERS in Ireland became so serious late in April that martial law was proclaimed in Limerick, Cork, and Tipperary. Serious strikes occurred in Limerick in industries and among railroad men. Sir James Ian McPherson, in his maiden address as Chief Secretary for Ireland on April 3, after indicating that measures were projected to improve educational facilities and housing, said:

The political unrest in Ireland is unabated and outrages of the most cruel and unforgivable kind are occurring. That is why it is necessary to have military forces there to maintain order. Ireland is one of the most prosperous countries in the world, but she must be freed from

the shackles of terrorism. The menace of Sinn Feinism, with its cruel and wanton oppression, is an enemy of constitutionalism and progress. There can be no self-determination on constitutional lines under Sinn Fein rule.

Bonar Law announced in Parliament, April 16, that home rule could not at present be applied to Ireland.

The three American delegates appointed to present to the Peace Conference the resolutions asking for Ireland's independence, which were adopted by the All-Irish Convention at Philadelphia, arrived in Paris April 11, and on the 17th President Wilson received them in an extended conference.

* * *

DISTURBANCES IN INDIA

SERIOUS disturbances covering a wide area occurred in India in April. Replying to an inquiry in Parliament on the night of April 14 the Government acknowledged their seriousness and stated that they were the outcome of what was described as the "passive resistance" movement against the recent Indian legislation known as the Rowlatt act, intended to combat seditious conspiracy.

The movement originated with the home-rule element in Bombay and took shape in attacks on officials and Europeans and on property.

The India Office issued a statement April 14 describing the general situation. It was shown that there had been disturbances at Lahore and a few casualties at Amritsar, thirty-three miles eastward, where three bank managers were burned to death in the Town Hall, two banks destroyed, the telegraph office wrecked, and three Europeans killed. At Ahmedabad a mob attacked and burned the telegraph office and two Government buildings. Here, also, there were a few casualties.

There had been disorders in which some persons were wounded at Bombay, but, the statement added, "in most of these places military forces are now maintaining order."

Disturbances occurred at Calcutta April 11 and 12; the military was called out; six persons were killed and twelve wounded. The Government buildings at Ahmedabad were burned.

RAVAGES OF INFLUENZA IN INDIA

THE Sanitary Commissioner of India, Major Norman White, announced officially in March that, from information available, it would appear that no country suffered as severely from influenza as India during the last quarter of 1918. Without fear of exaggeration he stated that influenza was responsible for 6,000,000 deaths, equivalent to more than half the mortality attributable to plague in the twenty-two years during which plague has been epidemic in this country. Five million deaths occurred in British India, and 1,000,000 in the native States.

Major White affirmed that there was no evidence that the disease originated in malnutrition. Its incidence was very high among the well-fed British troops, higher, indeed, than among the Indian troops.

* * *

JAURES'S ASSASSIN GOES FREE

THE trial of Raoul Villain for the murder of Jean Jaurès, the Socialist leader, at the outbreak of the war, began at Paris in a civil court on March 24. After a trial taking several days, he was acquitted. The decision of the court aroused an angry protest among the radical Socialists and there were threatening manifestations and fears of a general strike, but the authorities were able to maintain order.

The doctors decided that Villain was not mad, but that his sensibility and will were unbalanced, and that he suffered from intellectual debility. For a whole year he was haunted by the thought of killing Jaurès. At Rheims he was heard to declare: "There are politicians deserving death, for they are playing the Germans' game." For a whole week before the crime he hesitated, wandering about, now exasperated, now calm, now repeating to himself that he must kill Jaurès, and anon recognizing that he lacked sufficient will power. For the last two days he prowled round the office of *L'Humanité*, (the newspaper edited by Jaurès,) but Jaurès was then in Brussels. On July 31 he strolled in the Luxembourg Gardens, listening to the band, and he bought an afternoon newspaper, which gave news of the Ger-

man preparations for war. This excited him very much, and later, after he had dined near the Opéra Comique, he once more prowled round the Humanité office in the Rue Montmartre, but learned from the concierge that Jaurès was not there. He then went away, and suddenly espied his victim seated inside the Café du Croissant. Jaurès had just returned from Brussels, had had a conference at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs on the situation, and had just finished dinner with a couple of his Socialist colleagues. It was a sultry evening, and the windows were open, so that only a flimsy curtain separated Juarès from the street. Villain drew aside the curtain and fired two shots almost pointblank at Jaurès, who sank to the floor dead, shot through the head.

* * *

DEMOBILIZING FRENCH WAR DOGS

THE queerest demobilization in France in April was the distribution of the war dogs. Of the 15,000 war dogs which were mobilized in the service of their country a quarter of them were killed or died at the front and 10 per cent. are missing. Many were loaned by their private owners, who received them back. Some hundreds came from the wilds of Alaska and Labrador to act as sledge dogs in the Alsatian and Vosges heights. The famous 11th Cuirassiers à pied in the fighting in Champagne last Autumn were kept rationed in the front line entirely by dog carriers. About a hundred of the little carriages, drawn by 300 dogs, have been requisitioned by the Lille Corporation, and proved a godsend to the returned refugees in need of a means of transport for their household goods.

* * *

LABOR CRISIS IN GREAT BRITAIN

GREAT BRITAIN'S industrial crisis was adjusted without a strike by a conference between employers and employed at which far-reaching recommendations were agreed to and subsequently accepted by the Government to be enacted into law. It was the most serious situation that ever confronted the industries of the country, involving all the mining, engineering, machinist, and

transportation interests. Among the more important recommendations which the conference asked the Government to pledge themselves to carry out and which were assented to were the following:

1. The setting up of a permanent National Industrial Council of 400 representatives of employers and unions to advise the Government on industrial questions.
2. Enactment of a forty-eight hour week, with certain necessary exceptions.
3. The establishment of national minimum wage rates.
4. Special payment for all overtime, where overtime is necessary.
5. Recognition of trade unions and employers' associations in industrial negotiations.
6. Unemployment pay should be more adequate, and should be extended to cover underemployment. Old-age pensions and sickness benefits should be more generous.

* * *

GOVERNOR OF ALSACE-LORRAINE

ALEXANDER MILLERAND, who was Minister of War in the Viviani Cabinet from Aug. 26, 1914, to Oct. 29, 1915, succeeded M. Jonnart as Governor of Alsace-Lorraine on March 21, 1919. He received the title of Commissary General of the Republic in Alsace-Lorraine, with his seat at Strasbourg.

* * *

CLEMENCEAU'S WOULD-BE ASSASSIN REPRIVED

EAMIL COTTIN, who had attempted to assassinate Premier Clemenceau and who had been sentenced to death, received a reprieve and his sentence was commuted to ten years' imprisonment at the instance of the Premier.

* * *

BRITISH NAVY RECORDS

THE British Navy from August, 1914, to March 2, 1919, transported more than 26,500,000 soldiers and other personnel connected with the conduct of the war. In addition nearly 200,000 prisoners, 2,250,000 animals, more than 500,000 vehicles, 48,000,000 tons of military stores, and 5,000,000 tons of live stores had been transported by naval transports.

Between Nov. 11, 1918, when the armistice was signed, and March 12, 1919, 5,500 moored mines had been destroyed

by mine sweepers. The Admiralty asked for 280,000 men and boys in its estimates for 1919-20.

* * *

FIRST AMERICAN MINISTER TO POLAND
HUGH GIBSON, who was the Secretary of the American Legation at Brussels at the outbreak of the war, and

subsequently became attached to the Embassy at Paris, was selected on April 15 as the first American Minister to Poland, and left Paris for Warsaw with Premier Paderewski a few days later. This appointment was the formal recognition of the new republic by the United States.

Facsimile of a Famous Document

AMERICAN EXPEDITIONARY FORCES
OFFICE OF THE COMMANDER IN CHIEF

March 28, 1918.

To General Foch

"I have come to say to you that the American people would hold it a great honor for our troops were they engaged in the present battle, & ask it of you in my name and in that of the American people.

There is at this moment no other question than that of fighting. Infantry, Artillery, Aviation - all that we have - are signs to dispose of as you will. Others are coming who will be as numerous as may be necessary. I have come to say to you that the American people would be proud to be engaged in the greatest battle of history."

Pershing

GENERAL PERSHING'S HISTORIC OFFER OF ALL AMERICAN TROOPS TO MARSHAL FOCH TO HELP STEM THE TIDE OF THE LAST GREAT GERMAN OFFENSIVE

AMONG THE NATIONS

Occurrences of Importance in the Various Countries

[PERIOD ENDED APRIL 15, 1919]

BELGIUM

ACCORDING to information placed before the Supreme Economic Council at Brussels fully one-quarter of the working population of Belgium cannot be employed for many months to come. All have been robbed of their tools or machinery, or the latter has been destroyed by the Germans during their occupation. It is pointed out the great majority of the industrials belong to the agricultural class and will be able to secure their implements earlier than the others—possibly in time for the present year's harvest. There is a vast area ready for the plow, over 6,500,000 acres. Other industries in the probable order of their restitution and the number of workmen they employed before the war are:

Quarries, 40,000; coal mines, 150,000; iron mines, 50,000; sugar manufactories, refineries, and distilleries, 60,000; textile manufactories, 100,000; metal manufactories, 200,000.

In the last three groups, besides the machinery, raw material will be needed from abroad, particularly for the last industry, as for ten years before the war, while the output of ore showed slight increase, the manufactured articles more than doubled.

The German figures for the metal industry are now available and may be compared with those of the last full Belgian year before the enemy's occupation. During the balance of 1914 and for the two years following there was not a great falling off in production. Then, in 1917, thousands of Belgians declined to work for the Germans and were deported, together with the machinery, according to the German explanation. According to the Belgian explanation, the Germans, knowing that they would probably have to surrender Belgium, began to take the machinery into Germany. This depriving the men of their work, deportations

of the "unemployed" followed. Whatever may have been the cause, the tremendous drop in the production from 1913 to 1917 is shown to have been in tons, as follows:

	1913.	1917.
Iron for steel making.....	2,324,490	7,990
Steel ingots	2,192,180	3,440
Half-finished steel	1,524,990	2,620
Finished steel	1,857,860	23,530
Finished iron	304,350	51,620
Crude zinc	204,220	10,290
Rolled zinc	51,490	1,676
Lead	108,480	22,745
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	8,563,060	123,610

Although the terms of the armistice require the return to Belgium, as well as to France, of every kind of industrial equipment that was carried off, it was fully four and a half months after the capitulation that returns began to come in showing the location of some of the equipment, and it was only on April 5 that the allied commanders at Cologne, Coblenz, and Mayence gave orders to the German civil authorities within their jurisdiction to secure such returns. The Allies do not allow Belgian manufacturers to requisition machines similar to their missing equipment from German factories indiscriminately in the occupied territory. They can only claim the return of the actual machines that have been taken, but not a provision for substitutes.

And such machines as have so far been available are, in many cases, waiting for the raw material. The Germans took away tons of material which they are not required to return. To secure new raw material the Belgian Government had to open financial credits abroad. This was early anticipated by the United Kingdom and Canada in favor of \$60,000,000; the United States \$50,000,000, and France \$46,000,000.

It was not, however, until March 20 that the official Moniteur announced the ratification by the King of the bill em-

powering the Government to issue in Belgium and abroad loans not exceeding \$700,000,000. On the same day the announcement was made that a law had been promulgated authorizing the Government to guarantee against loss banking groups formed through the National Bank of Belgium with a view to obtaining credits abroad in favor of manufacturers and business men for the purchase of necessary raw material, tools, machinery, and other commodities necessary for the economic reconstruction of the country. The maximum of this guarantee is \$140,000,000.

And when the raw material and the tools and machines arrive the manufactured product will have to compete with the finished articles which are arriving from abroad in great quantities.

To help in the task of reconstruction the Allies have established a special organization, called the Interallied Commission for the Industrial and Agricultural Reconstruction of Belgium, familiarly noticed in the press from its initial letters as "Ciriab." It has been constituted by the British, French, American, and Italian Government, with headquarters in London, and has opened a small office in Brussels. Here there is one official in charge, an Englishman, with piles of literature on foreign manufactured articles of all sorts.

Apropos of M. Hymans's appeal before the Paris League Commission on April 11, that Brussels should become the permanent seat of the League because it was necessary to have the League offices located in the devastated area in order that the hatreds engendered by the war should not be forgotten; and President Wilson's reply thereto, that the League was intended to eradicate hatreds, it may be noted that the civilian men and women of Belgium who were imprisoned by the Germans have formed themselves into an association whose constitution embraces the following points:

To prevent any revival of German influence in Belgium; to honor the memory of the Belgians who had been shot, with or without a trial, and to give assistance to people who have been thrown into dis-

tress owing to their activities or those of their breadwinners.

The association is said to possess a membership of 90,000, 2,000 of whom are residents of Antwerp, where German influence was strongest before the war.

ALBANIA

Essad Pasha, who is now in Saloniki, still claims the Provisional Presidency of Albania on the ground of his recognition by Italy in 1917, notwithstanding that Italy has since set up another Provisional Government at Durazzo, whose Vice President, Prenk Bib Doda, the chief of the Mirdite clan, was assassinated on March 25 while on his way from Durazzo to Medua. Essad Pasha says in a statement issued to the foreign press:

The delegations, respectively presided over by Turkhan Pasha and Halit Pasha, which have now arrived in Paris, are far from interpreting the sentiments of the Albanian people. It is my conviction that the allied Governments will ask them what they and their colleagues did in the critical days of the world war and how and when the Albanian people intrusted them with their mandate. If the Entente sincerely desires to settle the Albanian question on a basis of justice, which alone can guarantee peace in the Balkans, it will recognize my Government as alone representing the Albanian people. It would be an injustice to the Albanian people to regard the delegations of Turkhan Pasha and Halit Pasha as voicing the aspirations of the Albanian people.

EGYPT

On the night of March 14-15 riots broke out in Cairo, Alexandria, and other Egyptian cities, while some formidable revolts took place at the towns up the Nile, where rail and telegraphic communication was broken. Much private and public property was destroyed. Investigation showed that the disturbances were due to the Egyptian Nationalist, or Independent, leaders acting on the instigation of agents of the Committee of Union and Progress, whose headquarters had been dispersed at Constantinople through the efforts of the Interallied Commission there. Many of these leaders were arrested, but not until several lives had been lost.

In the absence of the British High

Commissioner, Sir Reginald Wingate, General Sir Edmund Allenby, the conqueror of Syria, was appointed Special High Commissioner, and hastened from Paris to fill that post.

On his arrival in Cairo, on March 28, General Allenby issued a proclamation, and released the Nationalist leaders from jail. In the two-day demonstration taken to celebrate that event other riots broke out, costing more lives. A curious phase of the revolt was the murder of Indian, British, and Egyptian soldiers when off duty, either in places of amusement or in the street. Meanwhile, manifestoes and petitions were addressed to the Sultan of Egypt and to the foreign Consulates demanding the restoration of the country's independence. It was reported that in one of the demonstrations before the Sultan's palace and the foreign Consulate, where the agitators called loudly for the independence of Egypt, "the procession took place with the assistance of the authorities, the police commandant actually riding in a car with a sheik."

The troops, both British and Indian, are said to have shown great forbearance, meeting attacks upon their lives with mere attempts to disperse crowds without bloodshed and to arrest the agitators. A new and stronger Ministry was formed by the Sultan after the arrival of General Allenby. The second series of demonstrations caused by the release of the Egyptian Nationalists was incidentally directed against Armenian residents, many of whom were murdered and their shops and dwellings plundered. Up to the second week in April about 100 persons had been killed and 300 wounded. [Further details regarding the Egyptian insurrection appear on Page 257.]

FRANCE

According to a communiqué made by M. A. F. Lebrun of the Reparation Commission, German devastation in the occupied regions of Northern France left nearly 7,000,000 acres of land unproductive. Some 4,750 acres, which formed the zone behind the lines, was in a condition for immediate cultivation, provided the necessary labor, tools, horses, and seed could be secured.

Temporary huts were provided where the houses were destroyed and the essential furniture and cooking utensils were furnished for the former farmers who are slowly returning. At the present rate of return it is purposed to employ soldiers who are no longer required for garrison duty on the Rhine, as well as German prisoners.

The purification of the wells and the reconstruction of the main roads were already well under way when the communiqué was issued on March 21. Central depots had then been established for the repair of agricultural machines, to serve until those which the Germans ought to have delivered at the end of February are received.

A number of munition factories are now making agricultural implements in order to remedy the serious lack of all such implements. The demobilization of horses had been begun, and the districts affected by the war were given a prior right to army horses.

The British Army, which had in France more than 400,000 horses, handed over 250,000 of them to the republic on condition that they were to be well fed and humanely treated.

M. Lebrun promised the farmers of the devastated regions several hundred steam tractors. The communiqué adds: "It is hardly possible that the year will see a harvest in the devastated regions."

During a debate in the French Chamber on April 3 concerned with the Electoral Reform bill two woman suffrage amendments were submitted and rejected. The first, presented by Henry Rouleaux-Dugage, providing that Deputies might be elected without distinction of sex, was defeated by a vote of 302 to 187. The second, submitted by Louis Andrieux, giving the head of a family the right to vote without distinction of sex, was defeated by a vote of 335 to 134.

As it is intended that the next election shall be held under the new law, which, besides reforms, shall admit the participation of Alsace-Lorraine, the event will depend, first, on the acceptance of the Treaty of Peace by the present Chamber and Senate, convoked as a National As-

sembly, and, second, on the passage of the Reform bill itself.

In a statement made by M. Clemenceau to the Executive Committee of the Radical Socialist Party at the Ministry of War, the Premier expressed himself as strongly upholding the rights of the present Chamber, "which has borne the heat and burden of the day, to vote on the Peace Treaty." In regard to the various problems to be solved he said that the following must be taken into consideration:

The four years' duration of the war has prevented, first, in 1915, the renewal of one-third of the Senate; secondly, in 1916, the entire renewal of the Municipal Councils and half the Conseils Généraux and the Conseils d'Arrondissements; thirdly, in 1918, the renewal of the second third of the Senate and the complete renewal of the Chamber of Deputies.

During these four years there has been no actual revision of the voting lists. These various operations must be effected in 1919. The renewal of Parliament must be terminated before the end of 1919, in view of the election for the President of the Republic, which must take place on Jan. 17, 1920.

Therefore, in the present year 225 Senators, 602 Deputies, 1,500 Conseillers Généraux, 2,000 Conseillers d'Arrondissement, 600,000 Municipal Councillors, and the Mayors and Deputy Mayors of 36,000 communes of France will have to be elected.

GREECE

A royal decree was published in Athens on March 25 announcing that Prince Christopher had renounced Greek nationality in order to become a Danish subject. He was born in 1888, and is an uncle of the present King and youngest son of the late King George, who was a son of Christian IX., King of Denmark.

The Athens press throughout the month expressed a settled opinion that the Peace Conference would award the Hellenic populated islands of the Aegean to Greece, so most of the propaganda was put forth in support of the claims to the coast of Asia Minor—the littoral from Aivali to Cos, including Smyrna and its hinterland. On March 27 the Athens press published a communication from M. Venizelos in Paris to the effect that the Council of Ten had authorized

him to dispatch troops to the Smyrna region to the number of 50,000.

Greek agents were already on the ground attempting to organize a plebiscitum in favor of union with Greece. On the other hand, the British Chamber of Commerce at Smyrna had sent an appeal to Paris denying the Greek claims, even though based on the principle of "self-determination." An extract from this document reads:

The town of Smyrna owes its development nearly entirely to British and French enterprise. Railways, quays, tramways, and harbor are all in their hands. The export trade from the time of the Levant Company to the present day has been largely in the hands of the British—the import trade is about equally divided among different nationalities. The shipping, with the exception of Pantaleon's Company, a small Greek coasting line, is British, French, or Italian; the mines, carpet industry, licorice trade, are entirely in the hands of the British, American, and Italian firms.

HOLLAND

When the Council of the five great powers at Paris decided March 7, on the petition of the Commission of Belgian Affairs, that the three treaties of 1839, establishing the status of Belgium and Holland, be revised, the Council shortly after dispatched an invitation to The Hague to send a delegation to Paris to discuss the matter.

As late as April 12 no reply had been made to the invitation, and it is said by the Dutch press that none will be made until The Hague Government has formulated its case denouncing any surrender of territory to Belgium, for the treaties of 1839, aside from establishing the political status of the two States, also demarcated their frontiers.

Meanwhile an attempt is being made by the Dutch Government to confirm the adhesion of Limburg, Zeeland, and a part of Staats Vlaanderen claimed by Belgium by means of the inhabitants asserting their desire to remain Dutch through petitions.

The fact that Queen Wilhelmina had received an address of loyalty signed by more than 170,000 inhabitants of Limburg—almost the entire adult population of the province—was made the sub-

ject of a message to the Dutch legations abroad on April 14. The message added:

While expressing her gratitude her Majesty declared this imposing manifestation would not fail to establish far beyond the Dutch frontiers the conviction of the unbreakable unity of the people and the territory of the Netherlands.

ITALY

While the cost of foodstuffs was showing a downward tendency and rents were still rising, on March 27, the streetcar strike in Rome ended by the employes winning through an appeal to the Arbitration Commission. After May 2 an eight-hour day will be in force, and the daily wage will be advanced from \$1.62 to \$1.95.

As Rome was already overcrowded before the war, and as there was no building during the war, the housing question has become a grave problem there. Many projects are on foot to relieve the congestion. One of them is to utilize the vast Campagna, which, in ancient days, was covered with towns and villages, until the population was dispersed by malaria. There has been no malaria since 1905, and Rome is now, second to London, the healthiest city in the world, but the prejudice against the Campagna has survived and has hitherto discouraged all attempts to revive its life.

Signor Luigi Einudi, the financial expert, in the *Corriere della Sera* of March 25, has an article on the fall of the purchasing power of the lira abroad, and blames the National Institute of Exchanges. He declares that the industrial life of the country is being sacrificed to the fetish of keeping the exchange at a favorable rate by artificial means, and adds:

I believe that it may be well to prohibit the importation of certain luxuries, but unless free commerce be permitted in everything else reconstruction will be impossible. Many activities are at a standstill owing to the lack of essential material.

The maintenance of the present arrangements for exchange, which are based on the establishment of credits from allied Governments, is simply imposing a burden for the future which will have to be met sooner or later. But it is impossible to meet commitments unless production

increases, and production cannot increase unless imports are freed from the present trammels.

The high prices obtaining at present practically prevent industrial concerns from exporting at a profit, and it would actually be an advantage in many cases if the value of the lira were lower. The present artificial conditions favor the importer, but are all against the exporter, and the rehabilitation of Italy's financial position depends on the power of increasing production and selling abroad.

On April 1 the new freight schedule between Italy and the United States went into effect, the rates being lowered from \$120 to \$16 per ton. At the new rate *Il Secolo* points out Italy can receive the two sorely needed products, coal and iron, from the United States much cheaper than she can from England.

During the month there have been many messages sent out from Italy that the country was on the eve of an industrial and political upheaval—the first due to the lack of food and of raw material for factories, and the second due to the delay in settling peace and to Bolshevik propaganda.

A general strike in the Province of Rome took place on April 9 in honor of Lenin's birthday. There was also a demonstration in Turin and other industrial centres. The strike was for twenty-four hours, but before that time had elapsed the demonstrations in both Rome and Turin had become vociferous anti-Bolshevist exhibitions.

KOREA

Ever since the phrase "self-determination of nationalities" has been used in connection with the negotiations which ended hostilities in Western Europe and with the subsequent search for a peace formula, Korean societies have been petitioning not only the Government at Tokio but also Chancelleries abroad that the principle of "self-determination" should be applied to the "Hermit Kingdom," which was practically annexed to Japan in 1910, after a series of treaties between Seoul and Tokio, which gradually deprived Korea of its sovereign rights, but not of its internal autonomy under Japanese resident direction.

In the middle of March a series of re-

volts and uprisings took place similar to those in Egypt—mob violence reigned in the cities and railway and telegraphic communication was cut. There were murders of soldiers, policemen, and public officials. Japan at once increased the residential garrisons by four battalions of troops, but, by the first week in April, authoritative reports from Tokio showed that the insurrection had become a serious rebellion which threatened the life and property of the entire peninsula.

From Shanghai, which has always been a hotbed of intrigue of Japanphobia, have come reports that the Japanese are putting down the rebellion in a manner which permits the word "massacre" to be used when designating the reprisals. Korean societies in this country received advices to the same effect. One cablegram from Shanghai to the Korean National Association in San Francisco, filed March 31 and received April 12, read:

Japan began massacring in Korea. Over 1,000 unarmed people killed in Seoul during three hours' demonstration on 28th. Japanese troops, fire brigades, and civilians are shooting and beating people mercilessly throughout Korea. Killed several thousand since 27th. Churches, schools, homes of leaders destroyed. Women made naked and beaten before crowds, especially leaders' families, the imprisoned being severely tortured. Doctors are forbidden caring for wounded. Foreign Red Cross urgently needed.

The Japanese official explanation of the affair is that the mobs, taking advantage of the lenient attitude of the Government, increased their activities until open rebellion was more or less evident throughout the peninsula, and for this foreign propagandists, some of them missionaries, were to blame.

MEXICO

Late in March Roberto Gayon, secretary of General Blanquet, some time Minister of War under the late President Huerta, announced a new revolutionary movement against President Carranza. Mr. Gayon, whose propaganda bureau is in New York City, sent a long statement to both the Government at Washington and to the press describing the alleged movement.

According to this statement the movement which had been organized by the friends of General Diaz had for its aim the overthrow of the Carranza Government, the re-establishment of the Constitution of 1857, and the revocation of the recent confiscation decrees. General Blanquet, it was reported, had on March 18 landed near Vera Cruz with a dozen other officers who had journeyed thither from New York via Havana. In the vicinity of Vera Cruz the army of Diaz was said to have been mobilized to the number of 7,500. Forty thousand troops of Diaz were also said to be in movement in fifteen of the twenty-seven States.

According to advices received at Mexico City, General Emiliano Zapata, the well-known independent rebel leader in Southern Mexico, was killed by Federal troops on April 10 in Morelos. The Federalists had entered the General's camp claiming to be Zapatistas, and, in a review which followed, shot him.

MONTENEGRO

The mandate given Dr. Trumbitch, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Serbia and head of the Serbian delegation at Paris, to represent all "Jugoslavia" has caused at least two members of the old Montenegrin Government to denounce this mandate. Secretary Lansing cabled a message to Dr. Trumbitch on Feb. 17, saying that the United States had decided to recognize "the Union of the Serb, Croat, and Slovene peoples."

Thus on the following day Dr. Trumbitch appeared before the Council of Ten and presented the Adriatic claims of all the Southern Slavs in the name of the new union just recognized by the United States. The fact that Dr. Trumbitch spoke only of Montenegro as a part of Serbia has been resented by the former Montenegrin Deputy, Yovo Popovitch, and John Plamenatz, the regularly elected President of the Montenegrin Government before the Serbian occupation, and their resentment expressed in pamphlets addressed to the Conference at Paris is a matter of historic record.

The statement of M. Plamenatz tells how the Serbians occupied Montenegro

by force of arms and against the wishes of the population in last November and December. He even charges the invaders with committing atrocities. The statement of M. Popovitch presents a history of the unaided efforts of his people in the war, and includes documents that the declaration of Corfu, signed by Serb, Croatian, and Slovène delegates, July 20, 1917, to prove the intention to blot out the political and territorial integrity of Montenegro which found expression and confirmation in Dr. Trumbitch's statement before the Peace Conference.

RUMANIA

The Rumanian Government placed in the hands of its representatives abroad, who had repeatedly queried Bucharest in regard to the situation, a report made by M. Vaida-Voëvod, Minister of Transylvania, as to the Bolshevik situation in Transylvania. In this report it was declared that Count Karolyi became the head of the Hungarian Government with the sole idea of preserving the integrity of Hungary by forcing a Bolshevik administration on the non-Magyar parts of the former kingdom, claimed by Rumania and other nations, and then, by bringing about a magnate coup d'état in Budapest, to centralize the whole country under the old form. As the first part of his scheme did not materialize at the appointed time, the impatient Bolsheviks at Budapest, inspired by Bela Kun and Lenine agents, forced him out, particularly when their suspicions in regard to the second part of his scheme had been aroused. M. Vaida-Voëvod writes:

At the very moment he came into power Karolyi founded at Budapest, 1 Mehmed-Ali Street, a Bolshevik propaganda bureau principally supported by the gold of the magnates. Their agents were trained and pamphlets were printed for a campaign not only in Croatia and the territory claimed by the Serbs, but also in Transylvania.

This bureau was in communication with the Russian Bolsheviks, and particularly with the Ruthenian Bolsheviks of Eastern Galicia, who are only a variant of the militant Maximalists of Moscow. Rumanian troops in occupation of Marmors-Sigel, Northern Hungary, captured 800 Bolshevik soldiers who had just arrived from Russia with arms and propaganda material.

Some of the propaganda literature thus apprehended showed that it was intended to be sent out to Entente and neutral countries, alleging that Rumanians were committing atrocities against the Magyar population of Transylvania, whereas many of the local Magyar officials had actually been retained in power in the territory occupied by the Rumanian authorities. Based on information conveyed in the foregoing report, M. Bratiano, the Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary of Rumania, issued a communiqué to the foreign press:

In Transylvania, Rumanian troops, wherever they are, are maintaining order and resisting Bolshevism. On the contrary, wherever there are Hungarian troops occupying territory they are assisting to organize Bolshevism, and the administration of all kinds is very bad. Where Rumanian troops are in occupation of territory, where there are Saxons or Hungarians, there is no trouble. The Saxons have agreed formally to accept a Rumanian administration, and they sent a representative delegation to Bucharest, giving in the adhesion of their communities to the Rumanian Crown and State. Until the present moment the Allies did not allow our troops to go to the frontiers of the claimed territories, and the result was that these frontier territories were occupied by Hungarians, who indulged in a Bolshevik propaganda, and massacred Rumanian intellectuals. Now, late in the day, the Paris Conference has agreed that Rumanian troops shall go forward into these disturbed districts, where the Bolsheviks and the Hungarians have been engaging in every form of disorder. That decision will take effect shortly.

On March 24 Jules Maniu, President of the Directorate of Transylvania, made the following statement in the Monitor of Transylvania, the official Rumanian organ:

Our foreign policy will generally be influenced by the gratitude we feel toward the people of the Allies, who gave the Rumanian Nation the chance of expressing its will and of using its forces in order to realize its ideal—all the more so because our relations with these powers have a practical, political basis.

At the same time, our economic condition demands that we should cultivate friendly relations as soon as practicable with the neighboring States. First to be approached should be the Czechoslovaks, between whom and the Rumanians are many characteristics in common. Then

comes the Polish State, which can easily become our close neighbor, and the Serbs, to whom we are more closely allied by common sacrifices.

I doubt not that all controversy between us will disappear as soon as we have all accepted the decisions of the Peace Conference in the same spirit of give and take, and that the good relations of the past will soon be re-established.

Notwithstanding the foregoing optimistic views, the Rumanian Minister of War was actually preparing the country to resist an invasion from three quarters, and on April 6, due to the appeal of Rumania made at Paris, "a strong detachment" of French troops landed at Constanza, on the Black Sea, and later was re-embarked on barges lying in the Danube. On paper, Rumania has seventeen divisions, including two of cavalry. Nine of the infantry divisions, however, are only skeleton formations, as the balance had to be disbanded through lack of food and equipment. This leaves six divisions of about 9,000 men each, besides the cavalry. Two-thirds of the field artillery is useless for lack of horses and harness. The heavy artillery is insufficient and has no tractors. No great or rapid movement of troops could be undertaken on account of the bad condition of the railways. Nevertheless, the following approaches were systematically put in a position of defense:

1. In the east, on the Dniester, and in the north, in Bukowina. The Bolsheviks are reported to have collected ten infantry divisions near Lemberg, and considerable forces (number not estimated) around Odessa, which was evacuated by the French on April 5. A double attack on this front is expected at the end of April.

2. In the west, where the Hungarians have from six to eight divisions on the edge of the occupied territory in Transylvania.

3. In the south, on the Danube and in the Dobrudja by the Bulgarians. The Bulgarians have maintained their stock of arms and ammunition. On demobilization the troops were allowed to take their rifles and cartridges with them, and an army could be mobilized again in a very short time.

In the light of the foregoing the Rumanian Government on April 2 sent an urgent request to the Peace Conference to order the disarming of the Hungarians and Bulgarians and to send food

and equipment, and, if possible, reinforcements for the Rumanian Army.

SPAIN

Serious disorders occurred in Spain during April, and portions of Barcelona and the Catalan districts were placed under martial law. The Romanones Cabinet resigned early in April. A new Cabinet was formed on April 15, of which Señor Maura was Premier and Manuel Gonzalez Honoria Minister of Foreign Affairs.

TURKEY

Damat Ferid Pasha, who on March 7 became Grand Vizier and Foreign Secretary, before the end of the month ordered the new reform Minister of War, Ahmed Abouk Pasha, and the Minister of Justice, Ismail Ildke Bey, to clear Constantinople of all seditious persons, both active and potential. A special court-martial was established before which the interallied mission was invited to lay the evidence its agents had been collecting. Moreover, a house-to-house search was made, based on the foregoing evidence. Several Ministers of former Cabinets fearing arrest made their escape, including Djavid Bey, whose manipulations of the Turkish Treasury were described in April CURRENT HISTORY. According to a dispatch from Constantinople, dated April 12, Kemal Bey, former Turkish Minister of Food and Governor of Diarbekr, had been convicted and publicly hanged in Bayazid Square, Stamboul, having been found guilty in connection with the Armenian deportations and massacres.

The attempt to seize the principal agents of a committee of Turkish officers of the reserve, a subsidiary organization of the Committee of Union and Progress, numbering 13,000 members, met with only moderate success. Many of them had already departed for the interior, where, disguised as hodjas, they were preaching a form of Bolshevism based on the precepts of the Koran—the right of the Moslem to prevail by force over all other communicants being merely substituted for the right of the militant proletariat to dominate all other classes.

Documentary evidence of this nature was found in the clubs and houses identified with the officers of the reserve. The Turkish and interallied police also reaped a rich harvest of bombs and weapons from the same places. The signal for their distribution was to have been the signing of the treaty of peace at Paris; the signal for the uprising, the published decision as to the future Government of Turkey.

Aside from the Bolshevism preached by the false hodjas there is the purely industrial sort, which was making itself felt among the esnaf, or labor unions, notably in the chapels known as the hammals (porters' guild) and the makhounais, (lighter owners' guild.) No sooner did the Allies begin to feed Turkey than these esnaf, whose socialistic union dates from 1896, when they organized against the Armenian porters and lighter owners by reason of their calling, established themselves as middlemen, through whom the goods must pass as distributing agents. The food once in their possession, their license to receive it having been given by Djavid Bey, they sold it to the highest bidders, or paid their political debts with it. All this was stopped, however, by the appointment of a British adviser to the Department of Food Control.

These and several other subjects formed the matter of a statement issued to the foreign press by Damad Ferid Pasha. He said he could have no foreign program until the fate of Turkey had been settled by the Peace Conference, although the "claims" the Government were prepared to make had already been decided upon. He said:

It seems to me impossible that this whole nation should be held responsible for what has been done by a young sub-Lieutenant and a band of thieves. In a family there may be one who is responsible for murder, but the whole family are not condemned for his crime, though it is all the same very unpleasant for the family.

For this reason I depend on the well-known ideas of justice of England and France to help this unfortunate family. At present we cannot put forward our case before the Peace Conference, but I feel sure that if Germany is to be allowed to send delegates to the Peace Conference we shall also be allowed to do so.

Then there is the question of public safety. On the other side of those mountains there are brigands continually at work, massacring whole families! I have already given orders to increase the number of men in the gendarmerie to 30,000, and instead of paying them \$10 a month we intend to pay them \$25, together with food and clothing. In this way I hope soon to increase the feeling of public security. * * *

We must have money in order to give the demobilized soldiers a few months' pay to enable them to live quietly until things become normal. Meanwhile, we must work and quickly show the Allies that we are sincere. For ten years I have fought this awful committee (the Committee of Union and Progress) and intend to continue to do so. Unfortunately the last three months have been practically wasted. Matters have now become urgent. But I depend on the good-will and sense of justice of France and England, and I hope I shall not be disappointed.

The memorandum of the Turkish "claims" mentioned by Damad Ferid Pasha presupposes that Constantinople will remain the capital of the Turkish Empire, while the argument is principally based upon Clause XII. of President Wilson's fourteen points.

The memorandum, for the purpose of argument, divides the empire into two big sectors: (1) The Turkish provinces in Europe and Asia; (2) the Arab provinces. "However, as among the Turkish provinces certain eastern vilayets, known in Europe as Armenian provinces, exist, it is necessary to make sub-divisions."

Before making any attempt to claim the territory on the ground of self-determination, the memorandum has a word to say about the massacres, "which are profoundly to be regretted whoever may have been the perpetrators." The Turkish Government has therefore requested the neutral powers of Spain, Switzerland, Denmark, Holland, and Sweden to form an international commission to decide on the responsibility for these "regrettable events." The memorandum then proceeds to make the charges of Armenian initiative—"it is a proved fact that Armenian bands massacred a million Moslems, partly before the deportations began and especially after the invasion of the eastern provinces by the Czar's army, and the horrible work of these

bands still continues"—and it offers this alternative solution:

The maintenance of Ottoman sovereignty in the "Armenian provinces, so-called," which shall presuppose the repatriation of both Mussulmans and Armenians or the extension of the Republic of Armenia formed in the Caucasus in such a manner as to allow the repatriation of all Armenian refugees at present there, as well as those deported from the Sanjak or Zor. Moreover, all Mussulmans of the old as well as the new territories of the republic are to be removed and settled in the provinces remaining under Ottoman sovereignty. The Turkish Government favors the alternative proposal.

In regard to the Arab provinces, the memorandum points out the political, religious, social, and economic ties which have united them with the empire for centuries, and the sincere loyalty generally of the Arabs to the imperial throne. Taking all this into consideration, it suggests giving them broad administrative autonomy. Reference is made to the fact that a century ago the Arabs of the Yemen placed themselves under the sovereignty of the Ottoman Empire in order to be rid of intertribal wars, and declares that during the great war, although "cut off from Turkey, they retained their fidelity and attachment to the Caliphate."

The memorandum makes no other reference to the secession of the kingdom of Hedjaz, which has full standing at the Peace Conference at Paris, being represented by Prince Feisal, the third son of the Shereef of Mecca, by whose efforts the Arab kingdom was established.

THE VATICAN

It was reported, March 10, that the Pope at a Consistory on that day delivered an allocution dealing with the question of the Catholic Church in the East, and particularly with the future of the Holy Places. His Holiness instanced the steps taken by the Holy See in favor of the Armenians, the Syrians, and the Christians of the Lebanon, and the direct appeals made to the Ottoman Government or to those powers whose interven-

tion at Constantinople promised the best results. Part of the text of the allocution was telegraphed abroad, but an important passage was omitted, for after his Holiness had said, "It would be for us and for all Christians a bitter grief if unbelievers in Palestine were put in a superior or more privileged position, still more so if the august monuments of the Christian religion were assigned to those who were not Christians," came a passage not telegraphed abroad by The Associated Press, which was:

We know, furthermore, that non-Catholic foreigners endowed with ample means are taking advantage of the unspeakable misery and ruin produced by the war to disseminate their own doctrines. It is unbearable that so many souls, losing the Catholic faith, should go to perdition there in the very place where our Lord Jesus Christ won for them eternal salvation.

The statement of the Tribuna of Rome that "the Pope aspired to take part in the Peace Conference, and that it was not from lack of will on his part that he has not done so," published early in March, later on brought out a communiqué from the Vatican, which reads as follows:

We do not hesitate to affirm that this is absolutely false. After the first few months of the war the Vatican considered what action it might be able to take when the powers should come to treat for peace. The line of conduct determined upon after mature reflection was as follows:

In case of peace by agreement the Pope would have gladly intervened, if he had been invited, in the hope of contributing toward the reconciliation of the opposing parties. On the other hand, in case of the absolute victory of one side and the consequent imposition of peace by the victors upon the vanquished, as such a peace would inevitably leave a legacy of hate with the latter, the Pope did not wish to join in inflicting humiliation.

These decisions, which we guarantee to be strictly accurate, date, as we have said, from the early days of the war, when, that is to say, the probabilities pointed to an absolute victory for the Central Empires. The Pope, therefore, shrank from taking part in the eventual humiliation of the Entente nations.

The Holy See certainly complained of Clause XV. of the Treaty of London, because in the exclusion, which had reference to it alone, it recognized a hostile

disposition. As to the intentions of the clause, as may be deducted from what we have said, they were of no material value. As to questions of fact, we may add that as the Paris Conference never had any intention of admitting to its deliberations those powers which had taken no part in the war, it has never considered or discussed in any way the prospect of possible intervention of the Holy See.

The clause in the Treaty of London, April 26, 1915, complained of by the communiqué reads:

XV.—France, Great Britain, and Russia undertake to support Italy in so far as she does not permit the representatives of the Holy See to take diplomatic action with regard to the conclusion of peace and the regulation of questions connected with the war.

Germany and the Bolshevik Peril

Bavaria's Soviet Republic Typifies the Revolutionary Trend Throughout the Fallen Empire

[PERIOD ENDED APRIL 15, 1919]

AN interval of waiting for the Allies' peace treaty followed the suppression of the second Spartacus revolt in Germany. For a brief time the leaders of parties were content to throw out political smoke screens to cover their real purposes. This period was marked by the Scheidemann-Ludendorff wrangle, growing out of the Chancellor's denunciation of General Ludendorff as a *hasardeur*, meaning a plunger, adventurer, or reckless gambler. Both Ludendorff and Hindenburg protested and threatened, but the episode ended in the sarcastic explanation by a section of the German press that the sting of the reproach apparently lay in the use of a French word to characterize the Quartermaster General "after four years of war upon foreign words waged so enthusiastically by the super-Germans."

More serious events, however, soon came crowding. The Russian leaven of Bolshevism was at work in all the larger cities, and at Munich, where the assassination of Kurt Eisner had caused a revolution, a full-fledged Soviet Government of Bavaria was proclaimed on April 7. Throughout the story of the month's dangerous unrest the doings of the Reds in Bavaria run as a recurrent leitmotif amid the strikes and suppressed revolts in other parts of Germany. There were still some allied critics who regarded Spartacism as a bugaboo displayed by the Junker element to frighten the Peace

Conference, but the sum total of the month's developments indicated that Germany was in real danger of the chaos that had ruined Russia.

FUNDS SENT BY LENINE

The German press in March discussed at length the revelations of the wholesale use of Russian Bolshevik funds for promoting the German revolution. While Hugo Haase and Emil Barth, prominent Independent leaders and formerly members of the original Council of People's Commissioners, asserted that Joffe, the Russian Bolshevik Ambassador, had merely furnished them with material for Reichstag speeches, Dr. Oskar Cohn, Under Secretary of State in the Department of Justice and formerly counselor for the Russian Embassy in Berlin, frankly admitted and defended accepting Bolshevik money. In part, Dr. Cohn's statement read:

Does it then require detailed explanations and justifications when I say that I gladly accepted the moneys placed at my disposition for promoting the German revolution by the Russian comrades through Comrade Joffe? Indeed, revolutions swallow up only a small fraction of what a single day of the world war cost—not counting human lives—but still they require substantial sums, and these sums must be raised by the International Social Democracy, which wants to bring about a Socialist order of society through revolution.

Comrade Joffe gave me the money on the night of Nov. 5, 1918. This had

nothing to do with the sums which, according to his former announcements, he had given for the purchase of arms. I have applied the money to the purpose for which it was intended—that is to say, the spreading of the idea of the revolution, and I only regret that circumstances have made it impossible for me to use up the entire sum. I hope that the time will soon come when I can give an account of my actions to the Russian comrades.

In this connection, as revealing the extent to which the late Dr. Karl Liebknecht had been subject to Bolshevik influence, Germania quoted from a speech delivered by M. Bucharin before an All-Russian Congress of workingwomen in Petrograd. M. Bucharin was reported to have said:

Liebknecht and his Bolshevik Spartacus group had adopted our Bolshevik tactics and went hand in hand with us. I shall never forget the moment when Liebknecht came to us in the Russian Embassy building. The Government, in order to clip Liebknecht's wings and to handicap his constant activity in the factories, &c., had resorted to a stratagem and invited him to enter the Executive Council. Liebknecht came to us in a state of fearful excitement and asked us what he should do. We jointly agreed that Liebknecht should only enter the Government if the latter were to represent the demands made by us: Breaking up of the Reichstag and terrorism against the bourgeoisie and the officers if they were to rise against us.

GENERAL HOFFMANN'S CONFESSION

Further evidence of Bolshevik influence in the revolution was afforded by General Hoffmann, former Chief of Staff of Germany's eastern armies and signer of the Brest-Litovsk treaty, in a remarkable interview granted to a correspondent of The Chicago Daily News on March 14. "Germany was not beaten on the western front," asserted General Hoffmann. "Neither Marshal Foch nor Field Marshal Haig nor General Pershing defeated the German armies. Germany was defeated by an upstart named Lenin." General Hoffmann continued:

You ask me what I consider lost the war for Germany. My answer is Bolshevism. I will tell you the exact moment that marked the beginning of the end. It was when General Ludendorff telephoned me at the headquarters on the eastern front from France to sign peace—any peace—with any Russian able to write his name. "The Americans are

coming," said Ludendorff. "And we need every corps we have on the western front. Make peace with Russia and release our armies there at once."

After blaming von Moltke in the west and von Falkenhayn in the east for having sent Germany to the scrap-heap of nations, the General continued:

You are wrong when you say that Germany played with Bolshevism. Bolshevism played with Germany. * * * The Russian revolution killed our hopes; it didn't make them. To have defeated the armies of the Czar would have been the defeat of Russia. Making peace with Bolshevik Russia, however, was suicide, though we didn't know it at the time.

The original Brest-Litovsk peace was not made with the Bolsheviks, but with the Ukrainians. When the Bolsheviks overran the Ukraine we sought to deal with them. This was after we had tried unsuccessfully to deal with Kerensky. The Allies had Kerensky, and our money could not buy him. He refused to make peace.

Immediately upon signing with the Bolsheviks we discovered that we had been conquered by them instead of having conquered them. Our victorious army became rotten with Bolshevism. Our military machine became the printing press of Bolshevik propaganda. We did not dare to send a corps of the German Bolsheviks to the western front. What is worse, thousands of Bolsheviks entered Germany. It was Lenin and Bolshevik propaganda that defeated Germany, undermined the morale, and stirred up the quack Socialists in the country.

ATTACK ON NOSKE

In the National Assembly at Weimar on March 28 Hugo Haase, the Independent Socialist leader, made a violent attack upon Gustav Noske, Minister of War, for his methods in suppressing the recent strikes and the summary execution of Spartacan rebels. He contended that the Minister's course was a return to imperialism, further evidenced by the Chancellor's indifference to Sunday's demonstration in Berlin in favor of General Ludendorff. Herr Noske, in reply, charged the Independents with being the originators of Spartacan machinations and promised to place all the facts before the Assembly.

The Committee on the German Constitution agreed that the National Council, or Senate, should be composed of one member for each 1,000,000 of population.

The salary of President Ebert was officially announced to be 100,000 marks, (\$25,000,) with no perquisites or expense allowances. The President was to render a strict account of his expenditures and to return any unused balance.

RADICALS RULE IN BAVARIA

Premier Hoffmann of Bavaria completed his Cabinet, as announced in a dispatch on March 19, with these members:

Minister of Justice—Dr. Max Endres.
Interior—Martin Segitz.
Finance—Dr. Wekerle.
Communications—Heinrich Frauendorfer.
Social Affairs—Herr Unterleitner.
Agriculture—Herr Steiner.
Military Affairs—Herr Schnettenhurst.

Frauendorfer and Unterleitner were members of the Cabinet of the late Premier Eisner. Segitz has been Minister of the Interior, succeeding Auer, who was shot at a sitting of the Bavarian Diet after the assassination of Eisner.

On the same date the Diet passed bills abolishing the nobility of Bavaria and prohibiting rights of inheritance. A Zurich message of the 24th stated that the Bavarian Minister of Foreign Affairs had notified the German Government that Bavaria would disarm her soldiers and henceforth would not furnish troops for the empire. A demand was made by the Independent Socialists that the Government melt all statues of former royalties and statesmen, including that of Bismarck, and that the material be given to industry; also that the national flags be converted into clothes for children. The Independent Socialists, who favored an alliance with Russia, refused to share in the Bavarian Government except on terms that made the participation of the Democrats and Centrists impossible.

UNEMPLOYED IN BERLIN

As evidence of the increasing lack of employment the Berlin City Council voted an appropriation of 160,000,000 marks for public improvements to ameliorate conditions; the city was expending 1,000,000 marks a day to assist those out of work. A clerical force of 2,300, with a weekly payroll of 100,000 marks,

was engaged in keeping track of the army of unemployed. At the same time the passion for gambling grew; roulette wheels were set up in the open streets in certain sections of the city. A correspondent added that "the gambling was not always with cash, stolen valuables of various kinds being put up as stakes." The fashionable west end clubs were patronized by a strange mixture of wealthy and poor. Regarding the present condition of the imperial capital as contrasted with its former model order, a writer in the *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger* said:

Berlin, the capital of the empire, becomes more degraded every day. Formerly a model of order and cleanliness, it is now slovenly and dirty. Some of the best streets now recall nothing but the slums of a Polish manufacturing town. Hawkers have taken possession and have made a pigsty of our great and beautiful city. From early morning to late night all kinds of rubbish are exposed on booths or offered by peddlers. The booty of thieves and the stocks of receivers of stolen goods are shamelessly offered.

Importunate beggars throng the entrances to the underground stations, and vendors of indecent leaflets and picture post cards corrupt youth with their poisonous wares. Nobody cares, and the police do not interfere. Under cover of freedom of the press any kind of printed matter is allowed circulation. One of the worst features is that most of the hawkers are in uniform, although it is evident that they have never seen military service.

Returns of the municipal elections in Berlin showed that the Independent Socialists had made a substantial gain over the regular Social Democratic Party since the national elections of Jan. 19. The Independent gain was attributed to the "iron hand" of the Majority Socialist Government in the Spartacus revolt. The complete vote ran: Independents, 234,067, against 229,827 for the Majority Socialists, 105,281 for the Democrats, 96,963 for the Junker German National People's Party, 40,087 for the Semi-Conservative German People's Party, and 32,808 for the Catholic Christian People's Party. The total vote was about 25 per cent. less than that cast in the elections for the State and National Assemblies. The new Board of Aldermen was com-

posed of 47 Social Democrats, 47 Independents, 20 Democrats, 14 Nationalists, 9 Semi-Conservatives, and 7 Clericals.

THE THREATENED STORM

Strikes and rumors of strikes, revolution and rumors of revolution surcharged the news from Germany. Hunger, unemployment, delay in making peace, Communist propaganda backed with Bolshevik funds, the despair of the German people due to the breakdown of their national discipline, and visionary dreams of the advent of a new Messiah in Lenin—such were the spectres hovering over the throwing of dice and the spinning of roulette wheels in a last-hour reckless gamble before the threatened anarchistic débâcle. Charles H. Grasty of The New York Times, in a dispatch of April 2, gathered from American and British reports of experts, threw a new light on the forces driving the German State to the brink of ruin. He wrote:

All agree that the Bolshevik movement is formidable and growing, while the Government gets weaker. The chief leaders are foreigners, mostly Russians. There are two principal classes, namely, idealists and adventurers, who have everything to gain and nothing to lose by bringing about a state of anarchy. They are in close and constant communication with Russia, whence they receive enormous sums of money.

The members of the idealist group belong to the intellectual and aristocratic classes, and are more dangerous than the adventurers. They have considerable learning and eloquence, and surround themselves with a halo that appeals to the intellectual "snobism" characteristic of German mentality. To this group belong Ehrich Muhsam, Franz Pfemfert, Karl Hirsch, Johannes Becher, Rudeger Berlet, and Dr. Lewiss. Karl Radek is a mixture of the two, with an almost religious belief in Bolshevism and a conviction that Lenin has a mission to the world.

The Spartacists are of the same breed, with the same aims, as the Russian Bolsheviks. The phrase, "the dictatorship of the proletariat," frequently occurs in the speeches and literature of both. They describe themselves as Communists. The great strength of the Spartacists lies in the fact that theirs is the only party in Germany with a definite political program. They preach and believe that communism alone will bring happiness to the world. The level of oratory at the meetings attended is higher than would be ex-

pected. The general line of their argument runs about as follows:

"Substitute our ideals of the communistic State, and there will be absolute equality for all. Germany is starving and impoverished, betrayed and deceived by former leaders. [This sentiment is always applauded to the echo.] She has not only been thoroughly beaten, but has earned the hatred and contempt of the rest of the world. The new Government is no better than the old. The political tyranny is the same—witness the murder of Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. Nor does it enjoy the confidence of the Entente. If the Entente trusted Ebert it would send food and open peace negotiations. It holds off because it knows the Ebert Government cannot last. What is the use of a Government that cannot give the people food or peace?"

"The Majority Socialists have betrayed the revolution and are merely aiding capitalism. The Government must go!"

"Next, all military action against the Bolshevik army must cease. The Bolsheviks are bringing peace and equality, and the stories about cruelty and excesses are lies invented by the Ebert Government. Terrorism in Russia was caused, not by Bolshevism, but by troops sent there by Germany. When the Russians come we will open our arms and receive them like brothers come to free us from tyranny. Then the whole world will be aflame, and communism and peace will be established."

RESULTS OF AGITATION

Serious rioting broke out on March 31 at Frankfort-on-the-Main. Crowds attacked the police station, released prisoners, and set fire to the building. During the evening shops were looted and there was shooting in various parts of the city, but order was eventually restored. A bourgeois strike began at Stuttgart as a reply to the general strike of workers, and all industries were closed down. A Berlin message of April 2 stated that almost all the labor forces of Germany were striking or threatening to strike. This resulted from the agitation carried on by the Independent Socialists and Communists. It was noted that the intellectual extremists had dropped the term Spartacists, owing to its being associated with criminals, and elected to be known as Communists.

Dispatches of the same date reported sanguinary engagements at Kastrop, Westphalia, and 150,000 workers on strike in the Ruhr Basin. On April 3 the

Ruhr district strike was said to have extended unexpectedly to include 120,000 in the Krupp works. Also 150,000 metal workers had struck in Berlin and 56,000 were out at Dortmund. At Coblenz, German troops opposite the American bridge-head moved toward Frankfort, where a Spartacan outbreak had developed shop plundering and street fighting. The Government got the situation under control by prompt use of troops, proclamations of martial law, and similar means. The dependable troops at Minister Noske's disposal to quell a widespread revolt, however, were estimated at from 50,000 to 60,000 men in all, a number far too small to garrison all the centres of disorder simultaneously. A correspondent quoted an epigram of Count von Bernstorff, that "Nothing in Germany was certain except the uncertainty of the morrow."

SPARTACANS IN BAVARIA

In Bavaria the Bolshevik flame daily grew more menacing. Many wealthy persons had already fled from the Bavarian capital, and thousands averse to living under mob rule had decided to emigrate to South America. The latter formed the South American Emigrant League, and, following the prevailing fashion, elected an emigrant "Council" to find ways and means of reaching the promised land. An order opening large houses to the unemployed resulted in workmen's families making themselves at home in the salons and boudoirs of Munich's high society. Dr. Reurath, appointed to handle the socialization of the press, informed the Munich newspapers that they had three choices if they wished to continue operations—the adoption of syndicalism, communism, or State ownership.

On April 5 Bavaria again became the centre of revolutionary disturbance. On the previous day the Spartacists at Augsburg had demanded the removal of the Government and the establishment of unbridled communism. This action inspired the Munich Central Council to adopt measures to prevent the convocation of the Diet on the 7th, and in its place institute a communist Government. The chieftain of the council declared:

The Diet will not meet on Tuesday.

What began in Augsburg with a general strike must be finished in Munich. Our task is to unite all proletarians within the next few days, declare a general strike, proclaim a communist Government, and fraternize with the Russian and Hungarian proletariat. That done, there is no earthly power to prevent immediate and complete socialization.

To confront this danger Premier Hoffmann hurriedly returned to Munich from Berlin. His visit to the German capital had been to confer with the Federal authorities upon the subject of convening the Bavarian Diet at Bamberg or some other unaffected city. In Berlin, owing to a 10,000 to 3,000 vote of the Independent Socialists and Spartacists for a general strike to commence on the 6th, the Government promptly reinforced the garrison. Protests of some members of American missions that food, after all, did not seem so scarce, after visiting the all-night pleasure resorts of "arrogant female and extravagant male" patrons, caused the Government to order the closing of fifty of these places.

A dispatch of the 5th announced that the Cabinet had accepted an amendment to Article 34 of the Constitution empowering the workers, on an equal footing with the employers, to collaborate in the fixing of wages, in the settlement of labor conditions, and in the entire development of productive forces. The workers, for the purpose of safeguarding their social and economic interests, were promised legal representatives in all industrial councils, including the Imperial Labor Council. These representatives would work with the latter council in the framing of socialization laws and the submission of them to the National Assembly.

NEAR A PRECIPICE

The desperate nature of the situation in Germany was reflected on April 5 by George Renwick, a correspondent, who cabled from Berlin:

While Paris is discussing, something greater than Rome is burning. We are rapidly approaching the position of Paris or Moscow, liberty or Lenin. Unless something is done, something radical and at once, the fight will not be one of many rounds.

After pointing out that the Government had made and was making mistakes, Mr. Renwick held that it was only common justice to believe and say it was doing its best, taking into consideration its inexperience and the heart-rending nature of its task. He then went on:

Were we wise, we would, in my opinion, do well to lend Germany something from our store of administrative talent. So many of Germany's own administrators are "compromised." Nearly all are "of the old régime." We should lend that help now, lend it to put Germany on her feet economically again, lend it so that she might "pay" one day, lend it with a clear statement that it is just a very present help in time of trouble for her—and for ourselves; for whatever road Germany goes the rest of Europe eventually follows.

We have to save Germany to save, in the long run, that civilization for which we fought so long and bitterly. This Government is the only possible one—that cannot be emphasized too often—with which peace can be concluded and by which peace terms can be carried out. If it goes, then practically there will be no Germany with which to conclude peace.

SOVIET REPUBLIC PROCLAIMED

On April 7 Bavaria was proclaimed a Soviet republic by Herr Mekisch on behalf of the Revolutionary Central Council at Munich. Everything was declared the property of the community. All works were ordered under control of the Workers' Councils, to direct affairs jointly with the managers. Local authority and direction of the administration were placed in the hands of the Workers', Peasants' and Soldiers' Councils, responsible to the people for all actions and omissions. Independent socialization was declared impossible. The students of Munich University announced the University Senate deposed and its administration transferred to a Council of Students and Professors.

Nuremberg, Würzburg, and Ratisbon calmly received the proclamation of the Soviet republic. There was no public disorder. According to a Berlin dispatch, however, Premier Hoffmann had not resigned, and had transferred the Bavarian Government to Nuremberg, where the Bavarian National Conference of Social Democrats had voted, 42 to 8,

against the introduction of a Soviet republic.

The Munich *Abend Zeitung* was quoted as giving the following provisional list of Soviet Ministers:

Minister of Foreign Affairs—Dr. Wilhelm Mühlön.
 Interior—Martin Segitz.
 Justice—Dr. Boehim, a Communist.
 Finance—Dr. Jaffe, Independent Socialist.
 Commerce—Herr Simon, Independent.
 Socialization—Dr. Neurath.
 Worship—Herr Neikisch.
 Agriculture—Herr Steiner.
 Traffic—Herr Frauendorfer.
 Military Affairs—Herr Schneppenhorst.
 Popular Enlightenment—Herr Landauer, Independent.
 Social Welfare—Herr Unterleitner, Independent.

According to the same source, Herr Unterleitner, former Bavarian Minister of the Interior, declared in a speech that the Noskes and Scheidemanns must now be thrown away like the Emperor Williams and King Ludwigs.

COMMUNISM IN THE SADDLE

Advices of April 7-9 indicated that events in Bavaria were moving through a bewildering overturn of society. Further plans of the new Soviet Government included socialization of the theatre, forcible opening of all closed stores to the service of the people, forcible reduction of rent and food prices, and the seizure of all fortunes of over 10,000 marks. The immediate creation of a Red Army was ordered. It was announced by General Headquarters of the First Bavarian Army was in an intensified state of been proclaimed, the domain of the First Army that, a Soviet republic having siege. It was officially announced in Munich that Ritter von Pruger, Bavarian envoy at Berlin, had been recalled. The Commissary for Foreign Affairs stated that the new German Constitution could never be binding on Bavaria, as Bavarian rights had been surrendered in that document. Soviet councils were chosen at Regensburg and Fürth. Additional details of the Soviet proclamation concluded with the following statement:

The Government of the Bavarian Soviet Republic follows the example of the Hungarian and Russian peoples. It will resume immediately a brotherly connec-

tion with these peoples, but it declines any connection with the contemptuous Ebert-Scheidemann Government, because that Government is continuing under the flag of a Socialist republic the imperialistic, capitalistic, and military business of the disgraceful, broken-down German Empire.

It calls upon all German brothers to take the same view. It greets all proletarians wherever revolutionary socialism is fighting—in Württemberg, in the Ruhr district, in the whole world.

As a sign of joyous hope for all humanity, it establishes April 7 as a holiday for all humanity. As a sign of the beginning of the departure, the flight of the age of capitalism, all work is stopped. Bavaria ceases, on April 7, in so far as it is not necessary for the welfare of the working people, to do labor.

Long live free Bavaria! Long live the Council Government! Long live the world revolution!

BERLIN REFUSES RECOGNITION

On the other hand, the National Government refused to recognize the Bavarian Soviet Government, holding that the Hoffmann Government was the only legitimate authority. Many Bavarian intellectual Extremists opposed the establishment of the Soviet Government on the ground that it would accentuate the hostile tendencies of Northern Bavaria, notably Franconia and Suabia. At Bamberg deputies of all the bourgeois parties of the three Franconian Governments—Upper, Lower, and Middle Franconia—registered a unanimous protest against the new régime in Munich. In opening the Bavarian Diet at Bamberg on the 8th, Ministers professed confidence in their ability to control the situation. According to a dispatch of the 9th the Bavarian Peasants' Unions had published a manifesto against the Munich Soviet Government and declared a food blockade against Munich and Augsburg.

At Magdeburg, capital of Prussian Saxony, plundering and rioting attended a general strike. Large portions of the garrison joined the insurgents. Warehouses containing food supplies were looted and partly destroyed. Herr Landsberg, Minister of Justice in the National Government, and General von Kleist, Fourth Army commander, together with the latter's staff, were arrested by revolting soldiers. Subsequently while Minister Landsberg was being taken in a

motor car to Brunswick he was liberated at Helmstedt and sent on to Hanover. As a result of the arrest of Herr Landsberg a state of siege was proclaimed at Magdeburg and Government troops were said to be under orders to proceed and quell the revolt.

Striking miners in the Ruhr district asserted that 381,000 were out in 238 mines. A political movement of importance was imminent at Hamburg under the Spartacan leaders Drs. Herz and Hauffenberg. From Brunswick it was reported that there was a strong movement in favor of a Soviet republic. Former President Merges addressed an applauding mass meeting in which he urged this course and a union with Russia and Hungary.

BERLIN SOVIET CONGRESS

The ominously heralded meeting of the Soldiers', Workmen's, and Peasants' Congress assembled in Berlin on the 8th in what was described as "a tense and irritable atmosphere of uncertainty." Strong preventive measures were taken against disorder, and all spectators attending the congress were searched for arms. The delegates comprised 138 Majority Socialists, 55 Independent Socialists, including Austrian delegates; 12 Democrats, 3 Peasant League members, and 3 Communists. An early Spartacan attempt was made to terrorize the congress by the appearance of ten heavily armed men in the lobby, who said they had been sent to relieve the guards on duty there. Being outnumbered by the loyal guards, the intruders withdrew. The action of these men, together with a tumultuous demand in the chamber for the liberation from prison and seating of Georg Ledebour, was illuminated in a special dispatch as follows:

This congress differs decidedly from that of last December, which voted for the immediate convocation of the national convention. It is nervous in the highest degree, knowing that its assembling may be made the occasion for another attempt to overthrow the Government and plunge all Germany into chaos.

The Majority Socialists and Democrats have no intention of aiding in the overthrow of the Government, but they are certainly ready to make concessions to the Independents and the latter are firm-



GERMANY, THE SCENE OF REVOLUTIONARY DISORDERS IN MANY CHIEF CITIES

ly determined to surprise and stampede the congress, which naturally can only be done with outside aid. Otherwise, it is asked, why should they have insisted on calling this congress, in which they could not hope for a majority?

By April 12 the German Soviet Congress was reported to be developing into a rough-and-tumble Parliament. Tumultuous debates took place between the Majority Socialists and Independents over meeting the claims of the Ruhr strikers and the liberation of Ledebour.

RIVAL FACTION IN BAVARIA

At Munich the food supplies were cut off and the public services suspended. The People's Commissioners' Government was reported to have been overthrown by the Communists, led by Levien, a doctor of zoology. The new Central Council comprised five workers and five soldiers, presided over by Herr Klatz, a bricklayer. Revolutionary tribunals were established and twenty-eight Judges sat in relays of seven throughout the day and night. Sentences were carried out immediately. All prisoners of war were ordered released, including Axelrod, the Russian Communist.

Spartacus activities were in progress at Nuremberg, Karlsruhe, Mannheim, Düsseldorf, and other large cities. Proclamation of a Soviet republic in the

Ruhr district was frustrated by Government troops. Heavy fighting was reported in the neighborhood of the Munich railway station on the evening of the 11th. At Würzburg the Second Army Corps declared for the Hoffmann Government. The railway station, occupied by the Communists, was stormed by the Government troops, and the fort of Marienberg bombarded and captured. In Brunswick the Peasants' Soviet demanded possession of all authority from the Landtag. Eichhorn, the former Berlin Chief of Police, was a leading spirit among the Brunswick Spartacists. In Saxony the industrial strike continued to extend. Danzig was reported in the throes of an industrial strike, with the object of overthrowing the Ebert-Scheidemann Government and affiliating with Russia and Hungary.

A dispatch of the 11th from Coblenz stated that American troops were guarding the German banks, owing to a threatened spread of the bank strike into American-occupied territory. Schwarzkopf and twelve other Germans, convicted by the Provost Marshal Court of agitating a movement against the American Army of Occupation, received prison sentences.

Germany's financial condition was disclosed to the National Assembly by Fi-

nance Minister Schiffer on April 9. Dr. Schiffer stated that the budget balanced at 13,000,000,000 marks—5,000,000,000 marks more than the previous year. He estimated the deficit at 7,500,000,000 marks. In making an urgent appeal for economy and a revival of work the Minister said the budget was only a step in a transition to worse conditions, because it did not represent indemnities payable to the Entente. It was a question whether the German people could support the enormous burden of taxation without lower prices, which could not be brought about by the taxation of goods.

VIOLENCE IN SAXONY

War Minister Neuring of Saxony was killed in Dresden on April 12. The murder was said to have been due to misunderstanding an order issued by the National Government that the pay of soldiers was to be reduced to a peace-time basis. Wounded patients in the Dresden hospitals, unaware that the order did not, as yet, apply to Saxony, and that the Saxon Government had requested its withdrawal, gathered in the theatre square to protest. Five or six hundred formed in procession to march on the War Ministry. They sent in a delegation to see the Minister. Those outside were presently joined by other partly armed soldiers. Some of these armed soldiers forced their way into the building. An excited young Government orderly threw two unloaded practice grenades into the Chamber. This started a false report among the crowd without that Minister Neuring had ordered the throwing of grenades. Communists immediately seized upon the opportunity to incite the crowd to vengeance.

Government troops, hurriedly summoned, refused to fire on the crowd, and marched off after surrendering their arms. The demonstrators thereupon stormed the building. They seized Herr Neuring, dragged him forth, and cast him into the Elbe. When he attempted to swim to shore he was shot and sank. Five demonstrators were reported killed in the riot. The dissatisfied soldiers eventually dispersed after reassurances were given by the Minister of Worship. Dresden was declared in a state of siege.

A Berlin dispatch of the 13th stated that General Merker had been ordered to advance into Brunswick to preserve communications. Advices of the 14th indicated that although the situation in Bavaria had improved in favor of the Hoffmann Government—provisionally at Bamberg—heavy fighting between the Communists and Government troops was in progress for the possession of Munich. Government troops advancing into Brunswick had put to flight the Soviet outposts. At Düsseldorf Spartacists entrenched in the Oberbillk quarter were ejected after a bombardment and driven off in the direction of Eller.

In spite of adverse votes by the Independent Socialists, the Soviet Congress adopted the resolution sponsored by the Majority Socialists for the incorporation of national economic energy in a nationwide Soviet system to culminate in a National Workers' Chamber representative of all crafts, arts, professions, and industries. It was announced that Dr. Bernhard Dernburg, former Colonial Minister and chief of German propaganda in the United States, had been appointed National Government Minister of Finance in succession to Dr. Schiffer, recently resigned.

Three Governments—the Constitutional Hoffmann Government, the Soviet and Communist Governments—had been for some days contesting for Munich. A dispatch of April 15, however, stated that the Communists had defeated the Government troops in a "battle" for the railway station and were still in possession of the city, but that reinforcements of loyal troops were being hurried to the Bavarian capital. A singular touch, among others, during these disturbances was the sending of Dr. Lipp, the Communist Foreign Minister, to a lunatic asylum by the President of the Central Council on the ground that the Minister's triumphant dispatch to Moscow was, on the facts, a serious error of judgment.

The situation as a whole showed that for the moment Germany had escaped a new revolution, owing mainly to the firm hand of Minister of Defense Noske, though the atmosphere remained charged with trouble.

War Work of the Knights of Columbus

By JOHN B. KENNEDY

WITHIN ten days of American declaration of a state of war, the Supreme Board of Directors of the Knights of Columbus, meeting in Washington, gave authority to James A. Flaherty, Supreme Knight of the order, to place at the United States Government's disposal the complete resources of this Catholic organization of over 400,000 men. The offer was gratefully acknowledged by the President.

At that time the knights were in the process of winding up the relief work they had been conducting for the American Army at the Mexican border. There they had found, in the various handicaps from which the troops suffered, an opportunity to render a public service which they did most efficiently, as Raymond B. Fosdick, the Special Commissioner of the Secretary of War at the Mexican border, has testified.

At a meeting held in Detroit in the early Summer of 1917 the Supreme Board of Directors of the Knights of Columbus decided by a unanimous vote to levy a per capita tax of \$2 on the entire membership of the order, the total so derived to form a K. of C. war fund to initiate among our gathering armies on a larger scale the work of relief conducted by the knights at the border. This action was applauded throughout the organization; the unity and common sentiment of the society was demonstrated by the eagerness with which the various councils emulated each other in transmitting the totals of per capita taxation to the order's headquarters at New Haven, Conn. Council after council sent in its quota—usually far in excess of \$2 per member—in spite of the fact that at this time the councils as corporate bodies and also as individuals were rendering financial aid in the promotion of the Liberty Loan and the Red Cross fund campaigns. John McCormack, the tenor, raised approximately \$75,000 for the K. of C. war fund.

Speedily a sum sufficiently large was assured for the knights to commence work on an ambitious scale. With full approbation from the War Department's Commission on Training Camp Activities the K. of C. launched its newer and larger program. The initial act of relief for men participating in the war was taken when the Board of Directors voted that members of the organization holding insurance in it on or before April 15, 1917, would not lose that by enlistment in the United States Army or Navy. As a manner of indicating their cordial agreement with this action of the Board of Directors K. of C. councils everywhere made provision for the payment of the general dues and insurance assessments of members enlisting in the nation's service. When it is conservatively estimated that about 40,000 members of the order engaged in active service during the war, the substantial aid rendered the morale of our fighting forces by the continuance of insurance for these men is readily conceived. Despite the double hazards of war and of the great influenza epidemic, the Knights of Columbus insurance system, after paying out millions in death benefits, emerged from the war as strong as ever.

WAR ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE

The first step taken by the knights in connection with the new work was the formation of a Committee on War Activities from the Board of Directors. The relief at the Mexican border had been managed by the supreme officers. For the new and greater work a larger managing body was created. The head of the order, James A. Flaherty; the Supreme Secretary, William J. McGinley of New York; Daniel J. Callahan, Supreme Treasurer, and the Supreme Advocate, Joseph C. Pelletier of Boston, became members of this committee, P. H. Callahan of Louisville, Ky., being the Chairman. James J. McGraw of Ponca City, Okla., another member of the board,

was also voted on the committee. Later, this War Activities Committee was reorganized and enlarged, William J. Mulligan of Connecticut, a member of the Board of Directors, becoming Chairman, and William P. Larkin of New York, also a Director, joining the committee as home director of overseas operations.

The governing body, the Supreme Board of Directors, is composed of men from different sections of the country, representing all shades of opinion within the order. It, of course, had and still has supreme power in the K. of C. war relief operations, its Committee on War Activities being directly subordinate and responsible to it. The personnel of this Board of Directors, in addition to the members of the committee already named, consists of Dr. E. W. Buckley, St. Paul, Supreme Physician; William D. Dwyer, St. Paul; John F. Martin, Green Bay, Wis.; John H. Reddin, Denver, Col.; Judge Paul Leche, Donaldsonville, La.; Luke E. Hart, St. Louis, Mo.; Martin Carmody, Grand Rapids, Mich., Deputy Supreme Knight; George F. Monaghan, Detroit; Joseph J. Meyers, Carroll, Iowa; William F. Fox, Indianapolis; Dr. N. A. Dussault, Quebec, Canada, and the Rev. P. J. McGivney, Bridgeport, Conn., Supreme Chaplain, brother of Father McGivney, who originated the order.

RAISING FUNDS

Having a monthly periodical, *The Columbiad*—the official journal of the K. of C.—at their right hand, the knights were able to carry their message of the moment directly to the more than 400,000 members of the organization. The members of the order gave over \$1,000,000 before the campaign for funds was extended to the Catholic public, let alone to the general population. At the national convention in Chicago in August, 1917, the immediate success of the order's work was manifested in urgent recommendations from all over the country, and especially from leading members of the hierarchy, that a great campaign be waged for the war fund. By vote of the convention it was decided to campaign for \$3,000,000.

This campaign did not take the form of one of the great nation-wide drives to which we have grown accustomed. It was regulated and conducted by the several State organizations, the State Deputy Supreme Knight having directive con-



WILLIAM J. MULLIGAN

Chairman of K. of C. Committee on War Activities, who has charge of spending the \$25,000,-000 apportionment from the United War Drive

trol. The Catholic Church, exceptionally well organized for such a campaign, threw its full strength behind it, and the three-million goal was speedily realized.

Men of all religious denominations—and of none—rallied to support the knights in their appeal for funds. State after State sent in its report to New Haven, all with the same tale of quotas substantially exceeded. From Alaska to Florida money came pouring into the war fund—its success being most cogently recorded in the fact that whereas \$1,000,000 had been the premier goal, amended to \$3,000,000, within one year of the first appeal more than \$12,000,000 had been

given in trust to the Knights of Columbus by the American people for the war work that had earned for the K. of C. a place beside the Red Cross and the other great war relief organizations.

Commandants of camps everywhere testified to the splendid record made by the knights with the men of their commands. The absolute avoidance of discrimination, coupled with the limitation of the religious feature of the service to Catholic boys, whose obligations to their faith had been the occasion warranting the knights' entry into war work, won plaudits for the knights from all over the land. They offered clean, manly entertainment to the boys, and their Secretaries were sent into the field with the injunction to serve the men with the colors as they would serve their own sons and brothers. They lived faithfully up to the spirit and letter of this injunction.

OVERSEAS WORK

Solidly established in the home camps, the knights turned their attention to work overseas, the growth of their fund warranting immediate action there. Certain obstacles were in their path. They were not well known to Governments associated with ours in the war against Germany. But a precursor of the work was sent abroad in the person of Walter Kernan of Utica, N. Y., son of the late Senator Kernan. He was a precursor in the sense of organization, for before he arrived in France a considerable body of K. of C. pioneers was already serving the boys there. This body consisted principally of Chaplains, and the knights sent them across the water first because their ministrations were most vitally needed.

The demands made by the Catholic faith upon its practitioners are such that the services of a Chaplain, distributed, as was often the case in the army, over a regiment of more than 3,000 men, became quite inadequate and must necessarily be augmented by additional Chaplains; and these the Catholics, acknowledging the fairness of denominational apportionment of Chaplains by the War Department, were eager to support. Their value to the morale of all the men, to say nothing of their especial service to

the Catholic fighting men, who totaled more than 35 per cent. of our entire forces, was speedily acknowledged by the French Government, which conferred the Croix de Guerre upon two of the Knights of Columbus Chaplains—the Rev. John B. de Valles and the Rev. Osias Boucher, both of Massachusetts—within a month of their first appearance in the front line. K. of C. Chaplains have since been cited in dispatches, one of them for the remarkable performance of serving a machine gun all night when the crew had been shot down.

General Pershing extended a cordial welcome to the Knights of Columbus. He issued General Order No. 64 placing the knights on a par with the Red Cross and all other war relief organizations.

More men went overseas wearing the K. of C. uniform—the best men the organization could afford; and shortly after Commissioner Kernan returned to make his report to the K. of C. Board of Directors, William J. Mulligan, the new Chairman of the Committee on War Activities, and Supreme Chaplain McGivney, made a tour of supervision in France and placed the K. of C. work there on a large and effective footing. By the first week in August the work had grown to a stature in every way worthy of the organization fostering it. Overseas headquarters had been established in New York City at 461 Fourth Avenue, the headquarters of the home work being continued at New Haven, Conn., where the K. of C. general administrative staff handled the work, effecting a great economy in administration expense. Hundreds of Secretaries and Chaplains had been sent overseas, the Secretaries under the direct supervision of the knights, the Chaplains receiving direction from Bishop (now Archbishop) Patrick J. Hayes, Bishop in Ordinary of all Catholic Chaplains with the American naval and military forces.

COMFORTS FURNISHED FREE

From these headquarters in New York City the immense supplies of creature comforts furnished free to the men in the service were shipped. The sole object of the K. of C. in providing

these comforts was to give the boys what, if conditions permitted, their own parents and relatives would first give them—candy, chewing gum, tobacco in every form, hot drinks, soap and towels, matches, &c. Roller kitchens were sent over, and these followed the men right into action. The famed Lost Battalion received its first taste of human comfort, after days of grueling siege, from a K. of C. kitchen rushed to their succor. Before the fighting ended, nearly \$4,000,000 worth of creature comforts had been shipped by the knights from New York for distribution among the men.

Lawrence O. Murray, former Controller of the Currency, and Edward L. Hearn of New York, Past Supreme Knight of the K. of C., were joint overseas commissioners for the organization, their headquarters being in Paris. Under their direction the chain of clubs established by Chairman Mulligan and Father McGivney, and later increased by Dr. E. W. Buckley, Supreme Physician, and James J. McGraw, member of the War Activities Committee, (the latter gentlemen also introduced the K. of C. war work among the American troops stationed in Great Britain, opening up headquarters in London,) was greatly augmented.

Insistent calls came from overseas for more workers. Delay in appointing these and shipping them abroad was unavoidable, as the Military Intelligence Service required a full investigation of every war relief worker, no matter what the organization with which he or she enlisted. But company after company of Secretaries and Chaplains went overseas. The knights, during actual hostilities, worked according to an ironclad rule which inhibited men of military age from entering their service. This policy was most popular with the fighting men. The knights also avoided sending women workers across in anything but clerical positions in the Paris headquarters—and their wisdom in so doing has been amply exemplified.

During the great battle of the Argonne 300 K. of C. Secretaries were serving our fighting men. Among them were

men of national repute, such as Johnny Evers, the ball player, who had gone over to head the knights' athletic department, for which hundreds of thousands of dollars' worth of athletic equipment had been shipped abroad.

Several Knights of Columbus Secretaries and Chaplains were cited for bravery under fire; many were injured seriously, and five have died from disease contracted in the line of duty.

SECOND YEAR'S WORK

The growth of the work required a budget of more than \$50,000,000 for its second year. This was reduced to \$30,000,000 at the request of the War Department when it was intimated that the policy of free creature comforts would be abandoned by official request from overseas. The knights insisted, however, that this policy was popular with the men, and that, as their appeal to the public was based upon its results, it had been elevated to the position of first principle of their war work. As agents of the National Catholic War Council, into whose hands the Government had placed the recognition of American Catholic war relief endeavor, the knights apportioned a generous percentage of the total of their revised budget to the United War Work Drive, which took place in November, 1918, and helped to contribute to the success of the drive.

The knights are continuing their policy of giving free creature comforts to the men in the service, at the same time extending all other branches of their work, so that they now [March, 1919] have over 250 places in France, England, Scotland, Belgium, Germany, and Italy, the majority of these places being what are known as clubs. There are K. of C. places in Panama, Haiti, and Porto Rico, and a club is contemplated at Rotterdam, Holland. The K. of C. workers were the first to cross the Rhine and serve the Army of Occupation. Over 100 K. of C. Secretaries are ministering to our men in the most advanced areas of the Army of Occupation, and a constant service of motor-truck transportation of creature comforts, literature, &c.,

is maintained between the Paris headquarters and all sections of France and the Rhineland.

All told, the K. of C. personnel abroad numbers approximately 1,000 Chaplains and Secretaries, while at home 650 Secretaries serve the troops. A comprehensive transport service has been established, Secretaries riding on all the transports and operating an amusement service—consisting chiefly of moving pictures—and distributing comforts to the men.

PHASES OF HOME WORK

The work at home also is fully maintained. The hospitals are regularly visited everywhere, and the 314 K. of C. buildings in the camps are the centres of recreation daily for hundreds of thousands of men. Educational features are being introduced into the regular K. of C. service, and it is interesting to note in this connection that the first law class to be graduated from any American camp received diplomas from the hand of the commandant of Kelly Field Aviation Training Camp in Texas, at K. of C. Building No. 2. The knights are planning a large vocational training school at Mineola, L. I. Their scholarships at the Catholic University and other famous schools are permanent factors in national reconstruction.

At naval stations and on board warships the K. of C. service is characteristically efficient. The knights are now on more than 400 ships of the United States Navy, having given athletic and other supplies to the ships' recreational committee. The K. of C. war camp community work is in the hands of more than 1,800 councils of the order, situated

all over the country; these councils have proved excellent social centres for service men and their relatives.

The K. of C. employment organization is acting as an auxiliary to the United States Employment Service, the directing head of which has, in the Labor Department's official journal, placed the knights in the first position as subordinate helpers in the great task of securing work for returned soldiers and sailors. The knights operate this service through their Transport Secretaries, who distribute cards to returning men. These cards are filled out and forwarded to New Haven, whence they are distributed to the job-canvassing committees of the councils located in places where the soldier and sailor applicants desire employment. Records show that one-third of the applicants for work are installed in positions within two weeks of making application.

The knights not only meet all incoming transports to render first comfort aid to the men, but they conduct hostels in some of the larger cities, the one at Boston having free accommodations, with free barber shop and tailor service, and with breakfast for 800 men daily. Like the clubs in New York, Detroit, and other places it is always well patronized. The knights also conduct a lost or negligent soldiers' and sailors' bureau, which has been instrumental in locating hundreds of service men supposed to be missing. In a thousand smaller ways the K. of C. have rendered valuable service to the men who fought and won the war, and their record has aroused the keenest appreciation on the part of these men and of the American public from whose homes they come.



Demobilizing America's War Machine

Important Steps Toward Resumption of National Activities on a Peace Basis

[PERIOD ENDED APRIL 15, 1919]

THE adjournment of Congress and the absence of President Wilson delayed the consideration of many questions of national importance. Secretaries Daniels of the Navy and Baker of the War Department also left the country for France. The various departments of the Government, however, continued to function smoothly, and considerable progress was made in the direction of demobilization and the resumption of normal economic and political conditions.

A statement of the War Department issued April 5 showed that the total discharges of officers and men were 1,624,171 up to that date. The actual demobilization orders that had been issued since the signing of the armistice called for the discharge of 1,305,000 troops in the United States and the return of 373,500 troops from overseas.

MELTING OF THE ARMIES

General March, Chief of Staff of the Army, on April 5 gave statistics showing how the armies of the various nations were being reduced. He said:

The total force of the Central Powers on Nov. 11, 1918, was estimated at 7,630,000. This had been reduced by the end of February to 1,125,000, or to 15 per cent. of their strength. On the same day on which this report was made the strength of the allied forces was 13,366,000, or 75 per cent. of the strength which they had on Nov. 11.

This would mean a total allied strength of more than 19,700,000 men when the armistice was signed.

General March gave the following figures regarding the reduction of the armies of the Central Powers:

	November.	February.
Germany	4,500,000	820,000
Austria	2,230,000	106,000
Bulgaria	500,000	129,000
Turkey	400,000	70,000
Total	7,630,000	1,125,000

So far as American demobilization was concerned, General March said his reports showed that, according to latest data on hand, the situation was as follows:

OFFICERS.

Total number of officers, resigned or discharged..... 91,674

ENLISTED MEN.

Discharges up to and including

March 22, 1919..... 1,424,510

Discharged for week ended March

29, 1919 60,896

Early returns, week ended April
5, 1919 47,091

Total enlisted men..... 1,532,497

Total officers and enlisted men..... 1,624,171

Orders from Nov. 11, 1918, to April 5, 1919, for the demobilization of approximately 1,836,500 men were as follows:

Troops in the United States..... 1,326,000

Oversea troops returned to the
United States 510,500

Total ordered demobilized.... 1,836,500

General March gave the following data:

The estimated strength of the army on April 1 was 2,055,718. We have demobilized 44 per cent. of the men who were in the service on Nov. 11, 1918, and 48 per cent. of the officers; 30,636 officers have been appointed to commissions in the Reserve Corps on their own application, and 15,101 of these officers have applied for appointment in the regular army. Sailings from Europe have reached the total of 627,510 since Nov. 1.

THE CHANGES OF A YEAR

Tomorrow is the second anniversary of the entrance of the United States into the world war. One year ago we were starting a tremendous drive to get troops to France. When I took charge of the office of Chief of Staff, on March 4 of last year, I found that February had touched bottom in the number of troops shipped abroad, only 43,000 men having sailed.

We built ships; we bought ships; we

begged ships; we commandeered ships; and on last April 6 the flood of men across seas had definitely begun, increasing in volume until we reached our maximum of 309,000 men in one month. Now, on our second anniversary, the great problem confronting us is to get our men back to their homes from across the seas.

I have set as a mark to be reached 310,000 men in one month. Each month is showing a steady increase over the month before, and we will do our best to break our record in transatlantic shipments.

Demobilization has been speeded up at home. One camp has established a camp record of demobilizing over 4,000 men in one day, and we can easily handle the maximum number of men per month which the available shipping permits us to bring back. Every State in the Union is now welcoming its returning sons—the finest type of American manhood, clean and virile, and deserving the thanks of the American people.

CRIPPLED AND BLINDED

Artificial limbs needed by disabled men who were in the military service during the war are being provided by the Bureau of War Risk Insurance, in accordance with the provisions of the War Risk Insurance act. There have been more than 500 artificial arms and legs furnished to disabled men to date by the bureau. The total number of amputations in the American forces was less than 4,000.

There were no cases in which men lost both of their arms and both legs. Surgeon General Ireland of the Medical Corps of the Army and Colonel Charles E. Banks, Chief Medical Officer of War Risk Insurance, were cited by the bureau as authority for this statement.

There were but 125 cases of total blindness as the result of the war, and not all these cases have yet been declared as permanent by the medical officers in charge, according to reports to the bureau.

The War Department, on March 25, announced that reports on prisoners from all sources showed a total loss by the American Army of 4,765 military prisoners and 281 civilians. Of the military prisoners, 4,276 have been reported officially as released and 233 died in German prison camps. Only one Ameri-

can officer of as high rank as Lieutenant Colonel was captured during the war. Four Majors, 27 Captains, and 363 Lieutenants were taken prisoner.

CASUALTIES BY DIVISIONS

Revised figures made public by the Chief of Staff April 6 showed that the total battle casualties—that is, men killed in action, wounded, missing in action, and prisoners—for the American Expeditionary Forces was 240,197.

"I have just received a chart," said General March, "from General Pershing's headquarters giving the total figures by divisions of the killed in action, wounded, missing in action, and prisoners, according to the division reports received at his headquarters. Possibly these figures will have to be modified in some slight way, but it is as nearly accurate as he could get. The total battle casualties, as we will call them, follow:

2d	24,429	35th	7,745
1st	23,947	89th	7,093
3d	16,356	30th	6,893
28th	14,417	29th	5,972
32d	12,948	91st	5,838
4th	12,948	80th	5,133
42d	12,252	37th	4,303
90th	9,710	79th	3,223
77th	9,423	36th	2,397
26th	8,955	7th	1,546
82d	8,300	92d	1,399
5th	8,280	81st	1,062
78th	8,133	6th	285
27th	7,940	88th	63
33d	7,860		

"The total battle casualties," said General March, "that is, killed in action, wounded, missing in action, and prisoners, for the American Expeditionary Forces, is 240,197.

THE MEN WHO FOUGHT

"There have been some estimates published of the number of Americans who fought in battle in France, and guesses have varied by very large numbers. We have an estimate now prepared in France which gives us, perhaps, as near as can be determined the number of United States troops that took part in actual fighting.

"Division troops, including replacements, 1,100,000; corps and army troops, 240,000; service of supply, 50,000; total

United States troops taking part in action against the enemy, 1,390,000."

WAR SUPPLIES SOLD

Sales to foreign Governments of more than \$200,000,000 worth of surplus war supplies were announced by the War Department on March 26. Most of the material went to France, whose purchase included smokeless powder, acids, copper, cannon and steel plates, for which \$155,000,000 was paid.

Italy bought \$41,000,000 worth of machine guns and ammunition, acids, and other supplies. The Netherlands bought \$685,000 worth of nitrate of soda. About \$1,000,000 worth of airplanes and supplies, \$496,000 worth of soldiers' personal equipment, \$294,000 worth of machine guns, and \$171,000 worth of hand grenades went to Czechoslovakia. Supplies were sold to other countries in the following amounts: Great Britain, \$2,300,000; Cuba, \$108,000; Liberia, \$14,500; Switzerland, \$9,500.

EMPLOYMENT FOR SOLDIERS

It was stated on April 5 that rapid progress was being made in the nationwide organization, by the Council of National Defense and the Emergency Committee of the War Department, of local councils to secure employment for discharged soldiers, seamen, and marines. One hundred thousand dollars was reported as available for the employment service in New York City. Buffalo, N. Y., reported that \$12,000,000 worth of public work was to be started as quickly as possible. In not a single instance had cities, States, and counties refused their hearty co-operation in the work. Colonel Arthur Woods, former Police Commissioner of New York City, is at the head of the Emergency Committee.

NEW VOLUNTEER ARMY

A call was issued by the War Department for 50,000 volunteers for service in Europe with the American Expeditionary Forces.

The purpose of the department in raising this force was declared to be to obtain 50,000 men to take the places of an equal number of drafted enlisted men who had good reasons for coming back

to this country, under the rules laid down by the War Department relative to demobilization. The 50,000 to be relieved could not be spared, it was explained, unless others took their places, and to obtain the relief force of 50,000 men it was necessary to ask for volunteers.

TANKS AND AIRPLANES

The War Department, April 6, announced its program for a peacetime organization of the tank and airplane arms of the service.

The United States will maintain in commission and ready for service under these plans a minimum of 1,050 tanks, 330 being of the heavy and 720 of the light type. A third type, known as the "signal tank," is provided for each company and battalion commander, 45 in all being included in the complete tank organization.

A tank brigade, composed of one battalion of heavy tanks and two of light tanks, will be attached to each army corps. The typical heavy battalion includes 45 fighting tanks, with 24 in reserve, and the light battalion 45 fighting tanks, with 27 in reserve. Thus, the army corps complement will total 135 battle craft, fully equipped, with 78 waiting orders from the corps commander.

The American light tank, adopted late in the war, is a two-ton machine, operated by two men and armed with a machine gun or rapid-firing rifle. It is capable of better than fifteen miles an hour under favorable conditions, and can manoeuvre with great agility. The heavy tanks weigh about thirty-five tons, carry a sawed-off 37-millimeter gun, and are driven at a moderate walking speed by their 500 horse power Liberty motors.

The corps is to be made up of 377 commissioned officers and 5,862 enlisted men.

The plans for aviation service provided for approximately 1,700 airplanes in actual commission and a minimum available reserve of 3,400 additional planes. This was based upon the proposed military establishment of 500,000 men, in which total the air service

personnel will be 1,923 officers and 21,853 men.

The organization tables showed that the air forces on a peace basis would be comprised of eighty-seven service squadrons, of which forty-two would be assigned to coast defense work in the United States and insular possessions, twenty would be pursuit squadrons, and twenty-five observation and bombing squadrons. The typical army airplane squadron includes eighteen planes in service and their personnel.

The table also called for the maintenance of forty-two balloon companies, divided into three wings of fourteen companies each.

RETURN OF ADMIRAL SIMS

Admiral William Snowdon Sims returned to the United States April 7, 1919, after two years' service as commander of the American fleet in European waters. His services were notable and a hearty welcome greeted him as the *Mau- retania* steamed into New York Harbor.

When the Admiral went abroad war was imminent, and news of the formal declaration reached him by wireless on the steamer on which he was traveling incognito. The vessel struck a mine as it was entering Liverpool Harbor, but the Admiral escaped injury. He entered at once into active co-operation with the British Navy, and for two years the allied fleets held the seas without any friction developing between them.

The Admiral, who automatically became a Rear Admiral on his return, narrated a number of interesting facts bearing on the work abroad.

Among other stories of the navy's part in the great war, he told that of the depth bomb. His narrative follows:

It all came about in this way: A short time after I arrived in England, two years ago, Admiral Jellicoe told me the story of how the depth bomb came into being. He said that Admiral Madden, who was second in command of the Grand Fleet, had, while in command of a cruiser in the early days of the war, caught sight of a torpedo as it was fired from a submarine. Presently the track of the submarine was seen, and a moment or so later the top of the periscope of the submarine was visible. The U-boat finally took to its heels, with the British cruiser in pursuit.

Admiral Jellicoe then told me that the British cruiser finally got within sight of the submarine, and it was then that Admiral Madden thought of the depth bombs. His men went to work at once, Admiral Jellicoe told me, and after some experimenting brought out the bomb which was later nicknamed the "ash can." They were tested out, and after they were found to be practical each destroyer was loaded up with them, carrying from thirty to forty charges apiece. They were arranged on a track device in such a manner that they could be sent off one every ten seconds merely by the pushing of a button.

Going into details of the work of the sea forces in the war, Admiral Sims said:

It was for us to get on with the war and play the game. The results depended on a full discussion with the chiefs of staff of the various navies—the English, the French, and the Italian. To use an army term, we brigaded our forces with theirs, and the whole force handled the coast from Murmansk on the north, in Russia, to the Adriatic, and now to Constantinople, at the eastern end of the Mediterranean.

The United States had a navy of about 80,000 officers and men, of whom 5,000 were officers, and there are yet 25,000 over in Europe doing work which will have to be continued for a long time. Of 350 ships over there, there are approximately 150 still remaining. The officers now there are doing work in every port; matters not exactly navy business, but they concern the sea and our ships. Every vessel that flies the American flag which arrives on the other side is handled by the navy.

WORLD INDEBTEDNESS

The Mechanics and Metals Bank of New York issued a statement showing the debts of leading nations at the beginning and close of the war, which is herewith summarized:

	Gross Debt of Aug. 1, 1914.	Jan. 1, 1919.
United States...	\$1,000,000,000	\$21,000,000,000
Great Britain...	3,500,000,000	40,000,000,000
France	6,500,000,600	30,000,000,000
Russia	4,600,000,000	27,000,000,000
Italy	2,800,000,000	12,000,000,000
<hr/>		
Entente n a - tions	\$18,400,000,000	\$130,000,000,000
German Emp. & States	5,200,000,000	40,000,000,000
Austria-Hungary	3,700,000,000	24,000,000,000
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Teutonic n a - tions	\$8,900,000,000	\$64,000,000,000
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Gross debt, all...	\$27,300,000,000	\$194,000,000,000

RAILROAD WAGES INCREASED

On April 6 the Railroad Administration granted a further increase of \$65,000,000 in wages to train crews, bringing the railroad pay bill up to an annual basis of \$3,000,000,000.

The new wage increase, which affected approximately 400,000 men, applied to firemen, engineers, conductors, and brakemen. Most of the men benefiting by the new increase are members of the Big Four Brotherhoods which received an increase of about \$70,000,000 in wages under the Adamson act in 1916 and a further increase of about \$160,000,000 last Summer on the basis of the recommendations made by the Lane Board to former Director General McAdoo.

Under war operations of the railroads by the Government the wage increases to railway employees have added \$910,000,000 to the payrolls, while the railroad companies themselves in 1916 and 1917 raised wages by \$350,000,000, making a total wage increase of \$1,260,000,000 in three years. In the last three years the wage increases granted have more than absorbed all the additional revenues obtained from higher rates charged for freight and passenger traffic. The Interstate Commerce Commission allowed the railroad companies to increase rates in 1916 and 1917 by more than \$100,000,000 a year. The Government last year added more than \$1,000,000,000. The total rate increases are accordingly upward of \$1,100,000,000, while the wage increases are \$1,260,000,000.

Adding the increased cost of materials to the advance in wages, there has been a total increase in railroad operating expense in three years of \$1,750,000,000, as against aggregate increases in rates of approximately \$1,200,000,000. Increased labor and material costs have, therefore, outrun the increased freight and passenger rates by \$550,000,000.

ARMY OF OCCUPATION

In the occupied zone in Germany a marked increase of unfriendliness on the part of the population toward American soldiers was noted. Official cognizance

of this was taken in an intelligence summary issued by the Third Army, which said, in part:

There is considerable feeling against our strict enforcement of the civilian circulation regulations. * * * This is especially so with reference to the circulation on the left bank of the Rhine between the several occupied territories.

The general idea is that Bolshevism will die of its own accord, and satisfaction is expressed that it cannot make headway in the American zone. While recognizing that the inhabitants owe the quiet in the region to the American troops, it is evident that the population has no really friendly spirit for our soldiers.

Edwin L. James cabled from Coblenz on March 27:

No one can write down in a few words the cause of the change. A combination of factors has brought it about. The Allies' delay in presenting the peace terms has put the Germans in the position of a man who is going to have a tooth pulled and has to wait in the dentist's anteroom for two hours thinking about how much it is going to hurt him. His nerves are not what they used to be.

The Americans are using a firm hand, even proceeding against the Burgo-master and the District President, which arouses about the same interest here as the trial of the Mayor and Governor at the same time would create in New York. The situation was emphasized by the army action yesterday in suspending for three days the morning and evening editions of the Coblenzer Zeitung, the leading paper of the city. The Zeitung had printed an article about Hungary's Bolshevik adventure which charged all the blame to the Allies.

None of these things seems to have agitated the Rhineland Germans as much as the action of the allied armies in refusing to allow the delegates to the Rhenish Provincial Legislature to proceed to Düsseldorf for the fifty-ninth session of the lawmaking body of this province, called to meet this week. It must be understood that the Allies occupying German territory allowed delegates to go to the Weimar National Assembly and to the Prussian Assembly at Berlin a short time ago. Understanding that, one may imagine the vehemence with which the delegates to Düsseldorf want to know why they cannot go there.

Incidentally, there had been prepared for presentation to the Legislature an ardent protest against any action by the Allies which would divorce the left bank of the Rhine from the rest of Germany. The meeting of the Legislature would unquestionably have given its indorsement to

this. It is not forgotten that Marshal Foch, who broke up the prospective Düsseldorf session, is a leading advocate of doing something to the left bank of the Rhine which the Germans are not enthusiastic about.

It is not a question of hunger, for the Germans hereabouts have not been hungry, and now they know that they are going to get food regularly from the Americans. It is simply a case of the Americans getting on their nerves. The natural consequence of manifestations of this psychological condition on the part of the Germans is that sooner or later they are going to get on the Americans' nerves.

ARMY IN LUXEMBURG

Word was received at the headquarters of General Dickman on March 27 from

General Headquarters that the Duchy of Luxemburg would on April 1 be included in the area under the control of the American Third Army, the jurisdiction of which would extend to the French frontier of 1914.

The 6th Corps, commanded by Brig. Gen. Adelbert Cronkhite, was to function in the Luxemburg area with the 5th and 33d Divisions, which had been attached to the Second Army. General Cronkhite was expected to take up headquarters in the City of Luxemburg soon, this city also being the General Headquarters of Marshal Foch. The control of this additional territory would give the Third Army the 3d, 4th, and 6th Corps, with nine divisions.

Two Years of American Accomplishment Since War Was Declared

A few of the statistics relating to our armed forces, casualties, shipping, and estimated cost of operations, April 6, 1917, to April 6, 1919:

April 6, 1917—

Regular Army	127,588
National Guard in Federal Service..	80,466
Reserve Corps in service.....	4,000

Total of soldiers	212,034
Personnel of navy	65,777
Marine Corps.....	15,627

Total armed forces.....	293,438
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Nov. 11, 1918—

Army	3,764,000
Navy	497,030
Marine Corps	78,017

Total armed forces.....	4,339,047
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* * *

Soldiers transported overseas...	2,053,347
American troops in action, Nov. 11, 1918.....	1,338,169

Soldiers in camps in the United States, Nov. 11, 1918.....	1,700,000
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Casualties, Army and Marine Corps, A. E. F.....	282,311
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Death rate per thousand, A. E. F.....	.057
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German prisoners taken.....	44,000
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Americans decorated by Brit- ish, French, Belgian, and Italian Armies, about.....	10,000
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Number of men registered and classified under selective service law	23,700,000
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Cost of thirty-two National Army cantonments and Na- tional Guard camps.....	\$179,629,497
Students enrolled in 500 S. A. T. C. camps.....	170,000
Officers commissioned from training camps (exclusive of universities, &c.)	80,000
Women engaged in Government war industries	2,000,000

BEHIND THE BATTLE LINES

Railway locomotives sent to France	967
Freight cars sent to France...	13,174
Locomotives of foreign origin operated by A. E. F.....	350
Cars of foreign origin operated by A. E. F.....	973
Miles of standard gauge track laid in France.....	843
Warehouses, approximate area in square feet.....	23,000,000
Motor vehicles shipped to France	110,000

ARMS AND AMMUNITION

Persons employed in about 8,000 ordnance plants in U. S. at signing of armistice.....	4,000,000
Shoulder rifles made during war	2,500,000
Rounds of small arms ammu- nition	2,879,148,000
Machine guns and automatic rifles	181,662
High explosive shells.....	4,250,000
Gas shells	500,000
Shrapnel	7,250,000

Gas masks, extra canisters, and horse masks.....	8,500,000	Shipbuilding ways increased from 235 to more than 1,000.
NAVY AND MERCHANT SHIPPING		Ships delivered to Shipping Board by end of 1918.....
Warships at beginning of war.	197	592
Warships at end of war.....	2,003	
Small boats built	800	Deadweight tonnage of ships delivered
Submarine chasers built.....	355	3,423,495
Merchant ships armed.....	2,500	
Naval bases in European waters and the Azores.....	54	FINANCES OF THE WAR
Shipbuilding yards (merchant marine) increased from 61 to more than 200.		Total cost, approximately.....\$24,620,000,000
		Credits to eleven nations..... 8,841,657,000
		Raised by taxation in 1918..... 3,694,000,000
		Raised by Liberty Loans..... 14,000,000,000
		War Savings Stamps to No- vember, 1918..... 834,253,000
		War relief gifts, estimated..... 4,000,000,000

Welcoming Home the Soldiers and Sailors New York's Great Parade

THE homecoming of the American troops has been signalized from the beginning by demonstrations of rejoicing, ranging from a din of harbor boat whistles in the ports of arrival to local parades in the various cities from which the more popular National Guard units entered the war. A typical welcome of the latter kind, and perhaps the most imposing of all, was that given in New York City on March 25, 1919, to the soldiers of the 27th Division, which contained many of the old National Guard regiments of New York City and State. Amid scenes of memorable enthusiasm and swarming masses of humanity that reached from Washington Square to 110th Street this unit of the Second Army of the American Expeditionary Force, which had helped to break the Hindenburg line, marched up Fifth Avenue under cloudless skies and received all the honors that it was in the power of the city to give. The significance of the parade, one of the greatest in the history of New York, was summed up by Acting Secretary of War Crowell in these words:

These sons of the metropolis and the Empire State are the heroes of Kemmel Hill, of Péronne, of Bellecourt, of St. Quentin, Cambrai, of Bony, and Le Catelet. These men who swing along beautiful Fifth Avenue today, resplendent in health and good spirits, each man looking to a future of good citizenship in the safe peace his valor established, are survivors of the historic American drive at the Hindenburg line of last Summer and

Fall. They fought gloriously. They helped win the most stupendous conflict the world has ever seen. The fruit of the victory is now in the hands of the people of all civilized nations, great and small.

These men who parade today are of the American stuff that heartened the weary British and French heroes in the Summer of 1918, and, when it came their turn to fight on their own sectors, they exhibited strength and ability which swept down the enemy like the wrath of an avenging God. In their last great drive the enemy fell back before them for thirteen miles, and some 3,000 prisoners were taken into the lines of the 27th Division. * * *

In the hour of rejoicing we shall not forget the bravest of the brave who may only parade Fifth Avenue today in spirit—the comrades who did not return. They died or are suffering in army hospitals, that we might enjoy the security of this day. Our hearts turn to them and to those loved ones who mourn their absence. We see the brilliant spectacle of this parade through tears for them, yet we know that they preferred death and physical torture to dishonorable personal safety.

MARCHING IN BATTLE ARRAY

The parade started at 9 A. M. and marched just as it appeared when it reached the British sector late in the Summer of 1918 to take its place in the battleline. The men paraded with full pack, and each wore his steel helmet. The stand at Eighty-second Street and Fifth Avenue was the official centre. Here were assembled Alfred E. Smith, Governor of New York; Franklin D. Roosevelt, Acting Secretary of the

Navy; Major Gen. James H. Barry, commanding the Department of the East; Major Gen. David C. Shanks, who as commanding officer of the Port of Debarkation in Hoboken started the country's legions overseas and in the same capacity is now supervising their return; and Vice Admiral Albert Gleaves, U. S. N., the officer who directed the convoys that transported more than 2,000,000 soldiers overseas without the loss of a single man. Governor Robert Cooper of South Carolina, United States Senators J. W. Wadsworth, Jr., and W. M. Calder, and Mayor John F. Hylan were also among the reviewing officers.

TRIBUTE TO THE DEAD

The first demonstration occurred when the Corps of Cadets from West Point swung into Fifth Avenue and headed north for the reviewing stand, in front of which they were to serve as the honor guard of the returned soldiers. The 27th Division was preceded by a platoon of mounted police. After the mounted police there came an artillery caisson drawn by six bay horses. On this caisson draped in the American flag was a coffin, symbolical of the supreme sacrifice that nearly 2,000 of General O'Ryan's men had made in France. The flag that covered the coffin was buried in flowers, great clusters and beautiful wreaths representing every city and town in New York State that had given men to the Twenty-seventh. A wreath of orchids and ferns was the tribute of the officers and men of the division to their fallen comrades.

There was impressive silence as the caisson passed on its way. To most of the throng the memorial was unexpected. The caisson was flanked by an honor guard of veterans, every one of whom wore the gold chevron that indicates the man who has been wounded.

Following the caisson came another guard of honor, made up of veterans, who bore a great white silken banner on which appeared in gold 1,972 stars—one for every man of the division who gave his life for his country. The crowds everywhere remained standing in silence until the caisson and the gold-

starred emblem of supreme sacrifice had passed. As the caisson approached the official reviewing stand the buglers of the Pelham Bay Naval Station sounded "taps," the West Point cadets stood at attention, and in the stand officers of the American, British, French, Italian, and Belgian armies and navies saluted.

Next came the wounded men, those still incapacitated. There were more than 400 automobiles, and in each were from three to five men, a great majority of them 27th veterans. Here and there in the automobiles were soldiers whose sleeve insignia indicated that they had fought with units from other States.

With one or two exceptions, every automobile was driven by a woman, with a wounded soldier at her side and two or three more in the rear seat. Some of the men were still in hospital garb, having been permitted, because of perfect weather conditions, to leave their cots and take part in the demonstration. These wounded men wore various insignia; they received the most enthusiastic welcome, amid a rain of cigarettes and candy; most of them wore a rose or a carnation in the top of their overseas khaki caps.

AT THE REVIEWING STAND

The marching columns came abreast of the reviewing stand at 12:30. The Police Department Band headed the procession. At the head of his men and acclaimed by enthusiastic cheers rode Major Gen. John F. O'Ryan, the division commander, the only Guard officer who exercised such command in Europe. Behind him rode his division staff, which included the liaison officers of the allied services, British, Italian, French, and Belgian.

The place of honor behind the division commander and his staff was given to Australia. This honorary position was a tribute to the battlefield comradeship between the two armies which had fought the Germans together, shoulder to shoulder; and the acclamations which the Australian veterans received were ample evidence of the good-feeling of the people toward them.

The steel-helmeted men of the division

Headquarters Troop followed, and after them came the 54th Brigade, the first of the infantry, the men who bore the brunt of the fight at Le Catelet and other battles of the decisive weeks of the war. The 108th Infantry, particularly, composed of many up-State troops, received a hearty reception; but the climax of ovation was accorded the 107th, many of whom wore the emblems of valor, usually the American Distinguished Cross, but in some instances also the British decoration, and in a few cases the French Cross as well. The 53d Brigade, the 106th Infantry, the 104th Machine Gun Battalion, the 105th Machine Gun Battalion, the 102d Engineers, the 102d Field Signal Battalion, the 52d Brigade of Field Artillery, the 104th Regiment, the 105th Regiment, the 106th of Buffalo, and the trench mortar men followed. The last units in the line were the Headquarters, Sanitary, Hospital, Ammunition, Supply, Mobile Ordnance Repair and Engineer Trains, with the division Military Police Company.

There was one war relic in the line, closing the procession, a huge German army motor truck. The sign painted on its sides said that it was captured at the battle of La Salle River on Oct. 17, 1918.

Before the parade and while it was under way army and navy airmen circled above Fifth Avenue. At one time there were five machines, four of the army and one naval hydroaeroplane, in the air at the same time. Twice during the parade one of the airmen swept up Fifth Avenue at an altitude of less than 500 feet above the crowd. Another thrilled the crowds with daring evolutions several thousand feet up.

COURT OF HEROIC DEAD

The most solemn feature of the pageant was the tribute paid the division's dead, when a guard of civil and Spanish war veterans laid a great wreath of purple orchids at the foot of the roll of honor in the Court of Heroic Dead before the Public Library. The roll of honor was a purple curtain fringed with gold, and bearing in three columns of golden letters the names of the battles in which the American soldiers were engaged.

Above this list of battles, which included Ypres, St. Mihiel, Mont Kemmel, Meuse-Argonne, and the others, was the famous letter written by Abraham Lincoln to the mother of six boys who gave their lives for their country. The curtain was suspended from two high pylons upon which gleamed golden eagles with spread wings, and below them were golden spears and shields bearing the division's insignia. The approach of the flower-decked and flag-draped caisson drawn by eight horses silenced all tumult. The guard of honor, consisting of seven veterans of the civil war and two of the Spanish-American war, deposited the wreath at the foot of the curtain, while a band played a funeral march and the witnesses stood with bared heads. The exhibition of a large flag of gold stars consecrated to the dead and the singing by a community chorus of "The Battle Hymn of the Republic" concluded the ceremony.

In the evening a large throng visited the Madison Square Arch, at Twenty-seventh Street, and the Arch of Jewels, at Fifty-ninth Street. The new Arch of Triumph was barely completed in time for the marching soldiers of the 27th to pass beneath it. The Arch of Jewels attracted many visitors. Blazing intensely, it shone down on a dense and surging crowd, which, for a time, made all vehicular traffic impossible.

RETURN OF ATLANTIC FLEET

The Atlantic Fleet, which had guarded the seas under Admiral Sims and Rear Admiral Mayo for two years, returned home on April 14, and steamed in stately column into New York Harbor and up the Hudson, the new superdreadnought Mississippi leading the way. Its unexpected arrival, twenty hours before the time that had been announced, added to the thrill of popular welcome that greeted the sea fighters. By night many thousands of sailors and marines had shore leave and were enjoying the sights of New York.

Three flagships entered the harbor in the centre of the dreadnought column, the Pennsylvania being between the New York and the Wyoming. The four-starred blue pennant of the Commander

in Chief fluttered from the main truck of the Pennsylvania, while the two-starred red pennant of Rear Admiral Hugh Rodman stretched to the breeze from the New York, and that of Rear Admiral Robert E. Coontz, also a red pennant, from the Wyoming. The Utah, the eighth ship in column, displayed the pennant of Rear Admiral Edward Eberle, recently relieved as Superintendent of Annapolis in order to assume a division command under Mayo.

MAYOR WELCOMES THE SHIPS

Notwithstanding its early arrival, the city authorities were able to welcome the fleet as it came into port. Down the bay the police boat Patrol, with Mayor Hylan and members of the Mayor's Committee of Welcome, saluted the flag of Admiral Mayo, after which, with the aid of megaphones, wigwag flags, and wireless, the Mayor extended the city's official welcome to the officers and men of the fleet, representing a personnel of approximately 30,000.

The ships of the fleet were thrown open to the public, and 20,000 sailors received shore leave on April 16 to enjoy the free entertainments provided for them in New York City. The first day was cold and rainy, but free theatre tickets, luncheon parties, circus tickets, afternoon teas, evening dances, and other entertainments galore were provided for the visitors. Programs for them were arranged by the Red Cross, Salvation Army, American Library Association, Jewish Welfare Board, Young Women's Christian Association, Young Men's Christian Association, Knights of Columbus, and War Camp Community Service. Four special performances of the circus were arranged for the men of the fleet on four successive days. Special information booths for the 30,000 sea fighters were established by the New

York War Camp Community Service near the five landing stations of the fleet, where the men could get detailed information about all the varieties of hospitality planned for them.

WORK OF THE FLEET

Admiral Mayo stated that there were in all 104 ships in the Hudson River, classified as follows: Twelve superdreadnoughts, seventy destroyers, ten submarines, and twelve auxiliary craft. This number, however, did not comprise the whole fleet, as some of the ships were in the Gulf and others were busy transporting American soldiers home from France. The fleet, he said, had had a very successful season at Guantanamo. He described the fleet manoeuvres and the naval air service as follows:

At the Guantanamo base the fleet engaged in fleet manoeuvres, battle exercises, and target practice. The exercises were the most interesting of the kind in which the fleet has ever engaged. We learned a lot of new things in the war, and all this had to be taken into consideration. For instance, we have a new system of handling the ships now. In the old days we handled them as units, but now they are handled by divisions, and instead of manoeuvring from the ends, as was formerly the case, we now work from the centre.

Again, the air arm is now one of first importance in all navies, and the planes played a very important part in our exercises during our stay at the Winter base. The machines were launched from platforms erected forward on the Texas and Nevada, the airmen reporting back by wireless, sometimes from the air and sometimes from land stations. When operating at considerable distances from the main fleet the aviators often land and use shore stations.

The value of the service rendered by the airmen cannot be overestimated. I should also point out that we used many balloons in our work this Winter, and in one instance that I recall we kept the balloon in the air for more than two weeks. The balloons were, of course, used for observation purposes.



Rebuilding the Industries of France

Enormous Task of Restoring the Mines and Factories in the Area of German Devastation

AT the beginning of 1915 the Union of German Metallurgists, one of the main representatives of economic Pan-Germanism, made the invaded French territories the subject of an expert report by an engineer named Schrödter of Düsseldorf. This report was published in the German review *Stahl und Eisen*, (Iron and Steel.) The author announced that he was entirely satisfied with the results of his investigation. Most of the factories which he had visited, he reported, were provided with machinery of the greatest completeness, some of it of German manufacture.

A table appended gave in full detail the metal products of the ten occupied departments. The mines of the North and of Pas-de-Calais furnished about 28,000,000 tons of pit coal of the 40,000,000 total French production; their furnaces almost 3,000,000 tons of coke, representing 80 per cent. of the whole output. This predominance was even more pronounced in the case of Thomas steel, 95 per cent. of which came from the factories of the North and East. In the territory occupied by the German armies there were operated 2,600 breweries, 206 sugar factories, and hundreds of prosperous textile works, weaving and spinning factories, dyeing plants, &c. New steel works had just been constructed in the Department of the North when Germany invaded France; at Pont-à-Vendin, near Lens, at Douai, at Denin. The Society of Senelle-Maubeuge began on July 15, 1914, to exploit the forges of Montherme on the Meuse, (Ardennes,) which were equipped with powerful and modern machinery. At Blanc-Misseron (North) the German expert had visited the vast workshops of the Society for the Construction of Locomotives, which, he reported, possessed the most modern types of machinery furnished by the United States, France, Germany, and Belgium.

Eugène Bargemont in *La Science et la*

Vie describes in considerable detail both the destruction wrought by the Germans and the beginnings of the enormous labor of reconstruction, which may take years to complete.

At first, he points out, the economic war program of the Germans anticipated, by annexation, the ultimate possession of all industrial establishments situated behind the battle line. While victory still seemed certain, they levied on the factories of these invaded districts only in the case of metals other than iron, such as copper, zinc, lead, &c. But little by little, as the Rhenish industries became exhausted and a great part of their output unusable, and as the German hopes of victory waned, the fury of rapine and destruction found a vast scope in France. Deliberately the Germans set to work to destroy everything that they could not annex; and this activity went on for months, in an orderly, methodical manner, with the object of paralyzing for several years the industrial life of the invaded districts.

TWO YEARS OF DESTRUCTION

The ironmongers from beyond the Rhine loaded upon thousands of wagons the metal obtained by wrecking all the French industrial equipment and by blowing up the metal frameworks of the buildings. After the Directors of the German war factories had chosen and carried away all the machinery they needed, they dynamited the rest, in order to prevent for a long period any resumption of industrial activity. They stole the rolling mills and the great furnaces, with their blasting and heating apparatus; thousands of textile looms took the road to Germany.

The results of two years of such deliberate destruction are now visible. The mines are drowned by the deliberate destruction of the metal wells that had retained the seepage water, or by the

diversion of surface streams into the ore beds. This was not simply destruction for destruction's sake, says M. Bargemont; the Germans were looking ahead into the future, when commerce should be resumed. They had accumulated enormous stocks in Germany, and had provided all necessary means of transport; new ships representing a commercial fleet of a million tons awaited loading in Baltic ports and in the North Sea, while thousands of locomotives and railway cars, stolen from the French, the Belgians, and the Rumanians, were reserved for overland transport.

This heritage of economic desolation the French have already begun to overcome. Some of the labor of reconstruction they had already foreseen, and prepared for; some of it could not be foreseen. On Oct. 29, 1918, for instance, only a few days before the signing of the armistice, the Germans wrecked the coal mines of Crespin, near Valenciennes, and to the last minute they continued their work of destruction. In January of 1919 there were 145 sugar factories, 1,600 breweries, and hundreds of textile works demolished or robbed of all equipment. The coal mines of the North and of the Pas-de-Calais, as well as the iron mines of the East, were made unproductive for long months to come.

MEASURES OF RECONSTRUCTION

Measures were taken, as soon as it was at all possible, to provide for the future rehabilitation of the demolished industries. Commissions were appointed by the various Ministries to study methods and ways. The Ministries of Public Works, Commerce and Industry, Railways, War, and Armaments, and even the Navy, were interested in the question. Each of these, therefore, created Bureaus of Social and Industrial Studies to prepare programs of activity for the hour of final deliverance.

But the situation would have been extremely difficult had it not been for the active co-operation of the manufacturers themselves. No one could better appreciate the innumerable details, or suggest better methods of repair, than they. Powerful committees were organized by

each of the large industries affected, which undertook the double task of determining the methods required and of putting them into vigorous application.

The flooding of the coal and iron mines in the basins of the north, the Pas-de-Calais and Brie, was the first evil to be remedied. All motor apparatus having been destroyed by the enemy, new electric pumps were installed to empty the flooded mines, propelled by a powerful current in the vicinity of Courrières, in the centre of the basins of the North and the Pas-de-Calais. After pumping out the water, the enormous task of restoring the wrecked machinery and equipment was begun, a labor which it was estimated might take years. Before the fine steel factories of Denain and Anzin, and so many others now a mass of ruins, could be reconstructed millions of francs must be expended. Weaving and spinning mills and other textile factories were in ruins. The close co-operation of English and American industry was required.

SUGAR FACTORIES

The sugar industry was one of those most stricken by the enemy, both by prolonged bombardment and by deliberate wrecking. Two-thirds of the sugar factories of the Aisne, the Somme, the Oise, and the North were sacked and destroyed; in actual figures, 145 out of 206. The seriousness of the problem was very great, as this is an industry closely connected with beetroot cultivation. In a large number of districts the ravages caused by large projectiles and by mines and torpedoes were so great that the cultivable soil completely disappeared; chalk was thrown upon the surface, and the rich black earth was buried under several meters of débris. These ruined beetroot farms must be replaced by others. The question of transportation, also, is a serious one; the horses and oxen which in the pre-war period drew the carts filled with beets to the sugar factories had completely disappeared.

The brewing industry was practically ruined. Of the 2,600 breweries, 1,800 were put out of business. All these, it was estimated, could not be reconstructed

in less than fifteen years. It was therefore decided to distribute in the North and East forty establishments corresponding to 25,000, 50,000 and 100,000 hectoliters a year. The small brewers, under this system, would have the right to use one-half of these establishments, the other half being given to important syndicates and brewers producing more than 20,000 hectoliters a year. By this arrangement the small brewers would not be forced to abandon their means of livelihood.

ORGANIZATION FOR REBUILDING

The French "spirit of activity and progress," referred to by the engineer Schrödter in his report, was again demonstrated by the creation of an organization entitled "Central Association for the Continuance of Industrial Activity in the Invaded Regions." Created on Nov. 22, 1915, it comprises nearly 2,000 companies belonging to the most diverse industries, divided into four groups: textile industries; metallurgy, mechanical, and electric constructions; agricultural industries, sugar factories, distilleries, breweries, mills, &c.; divers industries not comprised in any of the preceding groups. The Council of Administration of this association created a commission to study economic measures to be taken on evacuation and to determine clauses to be inserted in the armistice and the final treaty of peace concerning reparation.

At the beginning of 1916 the labors of the association were divided among ten regional committees, grouping the members by professions and regions, to facilitate the task of re-equipment, tools, stock, labor, credit, &c. On Aug. 2, 1916, the association formed the Central Bureau of Industrial Purchases for the Invaded Regions, which, on Aug. 6, 1917, was granted by the French Government a preliminary credit of 250,000,000 francs to enable it to proceed to the vast work of purchase required by the industrial rehabilitation of the invaded districts. On Oct. 4 an agreement was signed which constituted this Central Bureau an official Governmental organization; the Office of Industrial Reconstitution created by the Ministry of Commerce gave it

various powers, such as to determine the basis of the purchase program, to find furnishers, and discuss with them; to prepare and control orders, to receive and store merchandise, to deliver the same to the manufacturers interested.

The Central Bureau bought for the State the stock and raw material, as well as the tool equipment and machinery, and delivered them to the manufacturers according to the resumption of activity in the liberated regions. These deliveries were based on the value of the raw materials and tools destroyed and charged against the total of the war indemnities to be paid by Germany. The accounts of this official organization were verified by the General Inspection of Finances; none of its officers was on a salary basis. The capital, fixed at a million francs, had been entirely subscribed by the members of the Central Association. The Office and Central Bureau had acquired or ordered several hundred million francs' worth of industrial material.

LABOR CRISIS AVERTED

New exertions were made necessary by the sudden evacuation of the occupied territory. A first credit of 2,000,000 francs, voted by the French Parliament, was placed at the disposition of the Ministry of Armament, which had been transformed (November, 1918) into a Ministry of Industrial Reconstruction. M. Loucheur conceived a vast program designed to turn all the productive activity of munition factories to peace production. The arsenal of Roannes was devoted to the construction and repair of railways. The vast establishments created at Bourges for the manufacture of explosives were devoted to chemical fertilizers for agriculture. Wood construction yards for military aviation were given the task of providing material for the rebuilding of homes and factories in the liberated districts. Telegraphic and telephonic apparatus was now produced by artillery, aeronautic, and naval establishments. Thus the workmen and workwomen of war factories were not thrown out of work, and the labor crisis feared by those who did not realize the gigantic nature of the task of reconstruction was in great part averted.

PROOF OF PURPOSE

That the destruction of the industrial life of Northern and Eastern France had been deliberate was proved in various ways. The Paris magazine, *L'Illustration*, on Nov. 30, 1918, showed, with confirmatory photographs, how the Germans had systematically wrecked the looms of the factories of St. Quentin which they had not burned or dismantled; again, on Feb. 8, it showed the work of the wrecking crews in the metallurgical factories of Pont-à-Vendin. On Feb. 15, again, it gave a photograph which showed the Germans actually at work upon their destruction of French industry.

A pamphlet printed in German and presented by M. Klotz, French Minister of Finance, to the Peace Conference, was laid before the Commission of Reparations. This "confidential" note, published in 1916 under the direction and by the order of the German High Staff, was addressed to all Chambers of Commerce and all industrial associations of Germany, with the object outlined in the preface, namely, "to furnish a deep and thoroughgoing knowledge of the industrial and economic conditions of the occupied territory." This extract speaks for itself:

In the region of Sedan-Rethel the damage done is exceptionally serious. Out of fifteen establishments, six weaving factories were completely destroyed, that is to say, all machines and installations were removed from the buildings, and lie exposed to the air like so much old junk. The buildings have also greatly suffered by reason of being shot down or by breaches made in the walls by shellfire, by the removal of the flooring and the partial removal of the walls. If, therefore, these factories wish to continue their activity after the end of the war, it will be necessary to re-equip the factories completely anew. It is certain that none of the ten factories enumerated will be able to function, even partially, within at least one year after the conclusion of peace, unless the machine factories interested are able to deliver within that period.

The damage done the weaving factories of the North was also described. Establishments counting 1,900 looms could resume activity only within one or two years, &c. A further passage, which

studied the results of this destruction on the prosperity of German industry, is given below:

The French weaving industry will have lost during the war many outlets. To regain them, and to recover from the terrible blow inflicted on the weaving industry in the occupied regions, it is particularly important for Germany to start up again as quickly as possible after the war its weaving factories, whose productive power, thanks to the prompt acquisition of raw material and thread, have remained intact. If the relations of commercial policy between France and Germany prove to be favorable, a market of enormous importance, notably for German constructors of textile machines, will be opened in the North of France.

The pamphlet treated from the same viewpoint the condition of other French industries, ceramic, metallurgic, coal, sugar, &c. A photograph showing the destruction of 350 looms in the Cattelain factory at Boussiére, near Cambrai, was laid before the Peace Conference with this document, and is reproduced in the rotogravure pages of this issue of CURRENT HISTORY. The comment of *L'Illustration* upon it is as follows:

This photograph * * * is a living evidence of this colossal Machiavellianism. To the written revelation of the criminal deed it juxtaposes the very picture of the crime. We see the boches, hammer in hand, resting for a moment from their labors to be photographed in the accomplishment of their "duty." * * * After having taken away all the machinery reduced to old junk, the Germans set the buildings on fire, buildings which, it should be noted, were far from the battle-line. * * * Our document furnishes an illustration which the German High Staff had not foreseen. It is a damning document to be introduced into the trial. By a cynical fancy on the part of the destroyers, it has simply registered the destructive gesture.

L'Illustration concludes by deducing from this sight of a French factory being annihilated, "where brutes pose laughing amongst the shattered looms," that France must have immediate, total, pitiless restitution. Machine must be paid by machine; tools, plows, looms must be replaced, number by number. France cannot consider Germany's economic necessities when her own economic life, destroyed by Germany with refined calculation, must be revived. Germany must pay.

DESCHANEL GIVES DATA

On the third anniversary of the union of large French associations known as "All France Afoot for Victory and Right," of which Paul Deschanel and Ernest Lavisse are Presidents, a national demonstration occurred on March 8, 1919, at the Palace of the Trocadéro, Paris, in the presence of a great audience, among whom were representatives of the invaded regions. All the delegates of the Peace Conference were invited to this solemn ceremony. M. Deschanel delivered an address in which he spoke of the systematic nature of the German crime, whereby the German Empire became a vast engine of demolition. "We have," he said, "the names, the dates, the places of this great drama, of this frightful crime unique in history which we now place before your eyes." Among the details presented by M. Deschanel were the following:

Beyond the former battleline is absolute ruin. All capital, all instruments have disappeared. All industrial machinery has been stolen and remounted in German factories. The soil is exhausted. All agricultural material and the producers have been taken away. There are no more cattle; 2,650,000 hectares of cultivatable land have been devastated, of which it will be impossible to redeem 100,000, and 800,000 will be redeemed only with the greatest difficulty; 300,000 hectares of forests have been destroyed.

The sugar industry has been laid low. Of 213 sugar factories, 145 are ruined; French sugar production has fallen to one-third of what it was before the war. The establishments of mechanical construction have been destroyed; at Denain, the workshops of the French Society of Mechanical Construction were stripped of tools, machinery, and raw materials. The metal frameworks, the firebricks, and the machines and tools were sent to Germany. The buildings were dynamited on departure. Two-thirds of the coal district of the North and the Pas-de-Calais have been ravaged, 220 pits made unusable. A production of more than 20,000,000 tons, or 50 per cent. of the whole national output, has been suppressed. The workmen have been thrown

out of employment and their families reduced to distress. Fourmies, the famous centre of the weaving of fine wool, has been reduced to five factories.

Some interesting data were given by M. Deschanel concerning the German organization for this work of destruction. In 1917, he said, a German service was created at Lille under the title, "Commission of Destruction of the Industrial Establishments of the North of France." At the order of this commission all the factories of that region were made useless. Herr Schrödter of Düsseldorf said at a meeting of industrials that German industry would thus be relieved of an embarrassing competition. At Valenciennes another bureau was engaged in the destruction of factories; this bureau was at first under the direction of Captain Beucking, a manufacturer of Cologne; he was replaced in 1917 by Lieutenant Kohlmann, representing metallurgical factories of Dortmund. These officers were charged with requisition of industrial material. Another officer, Herr Goetz, a wool manufacturer, was in charge of textiles, and directed the requisition of mattress wool, linen thread, linens, &c. Other commissions removed all motor and electric apparatus; still others dealt with mines and forests.

GERMANS IN BRIEY BASIN

Special discussions and disputes have arisen concerning the utilization by the Germans of the basin of Briey. The French demand for the Saar Valley is based in part on the damage done in Briey. An investigation reported by the Havas Agency and published in the *Temps* on March 7, 1919, gave the following results:

In fifty-one months of exploitation the Germans extracted from thirteen ore mines 15,000,000 tons of mineral. Only three mines out of eighteen were flooded. A total of 62,000,000 tons of iron was extracted from the iron mines of Lorraine from 1914 to 1918, far less than the normal production. The metallurgical factories of Briey were not utilized. The mines and factories in Briey were left almost intact. Work could be continued

immediately if the 20,000 workmen employed before the war had not disappeared. The question of replacing them offered great difficulties. The factories, on the other hand, had been completely destroyed. Not one of the gigantic installations had been left unwrecked. Machinery not transportable was broken to pieces by powerful battering-rams. All the firebricks of the ovens were torn away; all the water, steam, air, and gas pipes were punctured; the giant converters were overthrown and dynamited, the rolling mills broken to pieces. Coppers, bronzes, motors, and everything utilizable were taken away. To repair the damage done may take five or ten years. The stoppage of production of cast iron and steel would paralyze even longer all the secondary industries which transform this cast iron and steel into multiple machines and tools productive of work and national wealth. These were feats which must be considered by the Commission of Indemnities.

PETITION BY INHABITANTS

The following petition by the inhabitants of the liberated regions, the initiative of which was taken by the Union of Great French Associations, obtained no less than 3,000,000 signatures:

To the members of the Government, the Senate, and the Chamber of Deputies:

We, the undersigned Frenchmen, liberated by the valor of our soldiers from the odious yoke of the enemy, citizens conscious of their duty toward their country, desirous of serving the general interest of the country and the greatness of the republic by working with all their energy for the resumption of national activity in the departments devastated by a military occupation whose cruelty is unexampled in history, have the honor to lay before you the following considerations:

The regions of the north and northeast, which were always counted as the richest of France, have been systematically ravaged by the Germans. By covering them with ruins the enemy pursued the design, long since determined on, of destroying one of the most productive sources of French prosperity. In constant violation of all laws of war, in contempt of all guarantees of international justice, the enemy pursued methodically, with barbarous zeal, his work of pillage and destruction, with the confessed object of forbidding us forever all hope of reconstruction.

War, as it was made by the Germans in our regions, had, from the start and in all its aspects, the character of an abominable undertaking of spoliation and destruction. It was not enough for the imperial armies to reduce to ashes twenty cities and a hundred villages; it was not enough for them, even after summary executions which were pure assassinations, to inflict upon our inhabitants the worst moral sufferings. Acting by order and following a plan minutely prepared, the Germans pillaged public and private property; took away, to send to Germany, the furniture of individuals, the raw materials necessary for industry, the machinery and tools of the factories, agricultural material, the implements of artisans and peasants. From leaders to simple soldiers theft and rapine were erected into a system. Thus a laborious population was reduced to forced inactivity and to the most extreme misery; thus was annihilated one of the most powerful centres created by the genius, the courage, and the productive power of the French people.

We have undergone the shame of deportations en masse; we have seen our brothers, our sons, and our daughters taken away and forced to work for the enemy; we have known the martyrdom of a slavery like that of the darkest and most barbarous times. In the German conception the weakening of our race was to complete the devastation of our country, to reduce us to misery for long years, and thus prevent all French competition with German industry. These crimes have been formally denounced by the indignation of the whole civilized world; they have been proved by investigations whose sincerity no one would dare deny.

And this is the result, that in the hour of victory the liberated regions, because of the destruction wrought and the crushing money payments exacted from the towns and communes, cannot by their own means, despite the ardor for work shown by their populations, who have passed through such an ordeal, guarantee their economic rehabilitation. If they should not obtain full and complete reparation they would, for long years, suffer the consequences of the German crimes and undoubtedly would sink beneath the burden.

DEMAND FULL REPARATION

Even though conquered by the arms of the allied nations, Germany would have attained one of her essential ends if she succeeded in ruining certain of our large industrial centres while developing her own productive means. This would be a monstrous iniquity, against which every human conscience would be in duty bound to revolt. It could not be admitted that the populations which faced invasion with

unshakable and patriotic firmness, whose confidence in the sacred cause of right and liberty has never faltered during these four years of privation and suffering, should remain, even in victory, unhappy victims of German barbarism.

Sharer with the whole of France in the struggle for the dignity of the independent existence of the country, we expect the whole of France to proclaim herself the sharer of our legitimate claims. We demand all justice for the crime committed, all reparation for the damage done.

In this war, which she did not desire, and which was imposed upon her by predatory powers, France has consented to the most painful sacrifices in the cause of humanity. The heroism of her soldiers, the admirable moral resistance of her people, the ruins of her soil, and the blood of her children, all that has made the grandeur of this war and given the possibility of common victory, assures her the incontrovertible right to exact those reparations and guarantees without which there would be no just and enduring peace. France will not permit the inhabitants of the regions most cruelly tried to be condemned irremediably to misery.

The undersigned consequently, invoking their cruel sufferings and their complete ruin, declare that any peace which does not provide for the punishment of the guilty, and which does not compel the enemy to restore to their former economic power the regions devastated by him, to indemnify the towns, the communes and the individuals ruined by his exactions, his despoliations and his thefts, would be a shameful sanction of the violation of law and of French downfall.

They ask the members of the Government, the Senate, and the Chamber of Deputies, respectfully but energetically, to use all the moral authority given to France by the imperishable memory of her glorious dead, the heroism of her soldiers, and the ardor for work as well as for war of her whole people, to the end that the immense injury suffered by the invaded departments shall be completely repaired by the enemy, according to the principles of justice for which we have struggled and suffered, and that the peace treaty shall stipulate in the most precise and formal manner the principles and conditions of full reparation for these injuries.

Egyptian Unrest Under British Rule

The Insurrection of March, 1919

THE state of unrest in Egypt, leading to the March insurrection, was explained as due to various causes by Dr. George Samme, Director of the Oriental Correspondence, in an interview with a newspaper representative in Paris. As an immediate cause he cited the refusal of admission to the delegates of the Egyptian Nationalists as participating members of the Peace Conference—a refusal due to a special request made by England. In 1914, he said, Egyptians were Germanophile, believing in the victory of Germany, which would have liberated Egypt from English occupation. During the uncertain period of the war from 1915 to 1918, Egyptian sentiment hesitated. But on the victory of the Allies in 1918, two movements sprang up, the first of which was for the right of peoples to dispose of themselves according to the doctrine of President Wilson, the second the Nationalist movement, developing from the belief that the Peace Conference had not created a new era of

justice. In this development there were other contributory causes: the transformation of the British occupation into a protectorate in 1914-15; the rigorous censorship; administrative worrying and red tape during the war; the long delays in granting passports, and the refusal of entry into Egypt of all suspected of Nationalism; and lastly the "invidious comparison" with the British proposals for satisfying Syrian and Palestine aspirations.

Another view of Egyptian unrest was given by Dr. L. Haden Guest, a well-known speaker and writer, to the London correspondent of The Manchester Guardian on March 25. The explanation offered by him was the bad treatment of the fellahs during the war. About 120,000 Egyptians were enlisted in the Egyptian Labor Corps, the Camel Transport Corps, and the Donkey Transport Corps. These men, he said, were enlisted by compulsion, and they were inadequately clothed and fed. Camp conditions

were very bad; there were epidemic diseases, an inadequate medical service, and a very high death rate. Punishment was given in the form of lashing. These things were well known throughout Egypt, said Dr. Guest, but not in England, owing to the drastic censorship. The effect was that every Egyptian who returned from these services to his na-



MAP OF EGYPT, SCENE OF SERIOUS UP-RIISINGS

tive village was thoroughly discontented, and became a centre of discord. Another cause was the uncertainty as to what would happen to the Moslems (of whom Egypt has 14,000,000 out of a population of 15,000,000) under Zionist administration in Palestine and under French administration of Syria. The religious bond between the Moslems in all these countries, he explained, is very strong.

The fire laid by the ill-treatment of the fellahs and the ferment among the Moslems had been lighted, he continued, by a few politically astute Nationalists. There were, he pointed out, about 11,000,000 fellahs in Egypt who are absolutely illiterate, and 1,000,000 more or less educated non-Europeans, who would like to get the power into their hands, and who call themselves Nationalists. Their real power, however, came from the fact that they were Moslems, and were thus able to utilize the grievances of the populace for their own ends.

In a memorandum by Sir William Wilcocks printed in *The Morning Post* on March 27 the oppression of the fellahs in the Service Corps was confirmed and additional facts presented. As the war was prolonged, the collection of corn and fodder became an instrument in the hands of omdhehs and officials to oppress the poor and helpless. The fellahs began to feel that they were being plundered as they had been plundered under the Turk. Now the strength of the British occupation had always been the fellahs; the sheiks, omdhehs, governing classes and high religious heads had always been hostile, but this hostility weighed little compared with the loyalty of the millions of fellahs. And the fellahs had now become alienated, and consequently the party opposed to British rule was strong for the first time since 1885.

THE INSURRECTION

The official reports of the riots in Egypt showed that 2,000 houses in villages were sacked.

On March 14 several British soldiers were murdered, and a mob sacked and burned the stations at El-Rekkah and El-Wasta. On March 15 the express from Cairo was pillaged and several other trains were sacked. An employee of the State railway was murdered.

On March 15 at Beni-Souef a crowd invaded the courts during their sitting, drove out the officials, and made an attempt to seize the British Judge. Failing, they wrecked various Government offices and attacked the residence of the Governor. Eventually, on March 18, the revolutionists were driven back by a small body of Indian troops.

On March 16 the mob raided the police station at Miniet Camp and released prisoners. It then attacked the station, and the military picket was obliged to fire. Thirty natives were killed and nineteen wounded. Several thousand natives attacked the station tank, and the troops and police were obliged to fire. Twenty-two natives were killed and fifty wounded.

There was considerable looting of the homes of the British in Fayum, where

the Bedouins were active for several days. A large force of Bedouins attacked the garrison at Medinet March 19, but eventually were driven off after having suffered 400 casualties.

The disorders in Cairo were checked with the least possible employment of force. Altogether sixty-nine natives were killed and eight wounded here. The behavior of the Cairo police was excellent.

A delayed Reuter dispatch from Cairo under date of March 24, reviewing the uprising, said that within a short time Egypt was aflame from Alexandria to Assouan. The depredations and excesses recorded must have struck horror into the heart of every civilized being. Owing to the prompt military measures, however, the disturbances in Cairo and Alexandria were not nearly so serious as elsewhere.

The situation was rendered very difficult by the cutting of railways and telegraph lines. The correspondent said:

Within a few hours we saw the Egypt of 1882 again before us. But, whereas at that time the rioters were unorganized, there certainly seems to be organization behind the present movement. We have seen the telegraphs cut at the most vital points and railways destroyed by men evidently knowing their work. The tram railway employes, native lawyers, and others simultaneously ceased working. All efforts were employed to paralyze everything.

Owing to the presence of General Sir F. Reginald Wingate, High Commissioner for Egypt, in London, the Commander of Allied Forces in Palestine, General Allenby, was appointed Special High Commissioner for Egypt, and sent to break the Egyptian rebellion. Arriving in Cairo on March 23, General Allenby immediately adopted severe punitive measures, and the effect of them soon became apparent.

The rising came at a time when there were more British troops in Egypt than at any time in twenty-five years. The result was that General Allenby was able to act promptly and effectively. Punitive expeditions had been sent into the troubled regions. Many casualties among the rebels had been reported. There had been wholesale arrests and many Bedouins were being detained.

A proclamation had been issued to the effect that wherever an attack was made on any point the nearest villages thereto would be burned without warning.

REBELLION IS BROKEN

Many Bedouin chiefs had been summarily punished. As a consequence of these measures it was quite certain that the rebellion was broken. In many places natives were guarding wide areas, railways and Government property, and were preventing large gatherings and demonstrations by the populace. Armored cars and airplanes had been dispatched to remote places to aid in restoring peace and quiet.

The Bedouins, who constitute the most troublesome part of the population, apparently were back of the revolt. However, there is political disaffection among all classes of the people. This disaffection is widespread.

General Allenby said that violence was practically ended and that a quick return of normal conditions now would be easily effected. There had been no deportations and no punishments for political opinions. However, persons conspiring against the Government had been energetically rounded up. On the other hand, there had been no wholesale punishments for past offenses and free speech prevailed.

The feeling was widespread that General Allenby's methods were right, in that they combined firmness and good will. The great loss of life and property during the revolt had served to frighten native leaders and they were trying to calm the people. Meanwhile business had been at a standstill. The schoolboy strike in Cairo schools continued. All pupils, excepting those taking their examinations, were affected.

Reports received here from the delta region said that the first British troops to arrive there after the rising began found a good reception awaiting them. Many villages in the delta were surrendering, giving up arms and plunder, repairing damage and the people generally were seeking conciliation.

Southward the unrest still prevailed, where, due to the interruption of com-

munications as a result of the damage to transportation lines, there were many wild reports of British reverses. However, a strong British column was moving in that direction and the troops were restoring order.

In order to provide sufficient water in the Nile to bring down refugees and to move troops up the river the great dam near Assouan and that at Assiut had been opened. This would result in a shortage of water for the July crops. Many instances are to be had to illustrate the fact that the natives themselves were the worst sufferers from the disorders that had occurred.

A call had gone out for a general strike and demonstration in Cairo. Notice had been given to all Government employes to quit work, to show the world that Earl Curzon's statement (see below) was wrong and that the nation supports the Nationalist leaders who were refused permission to proceed to the Peace Conference in Paris.

The British had Cairo picketed with troops, many of which were armed with riot sticks instead of rifles. The result of this order by General Allenby was seen in the fewer casualties reported.

The Government still was without a Cabinet, notables refusing to serve owing to intimidation. However, there was steady progress toward restoration of order.

STATEMENT OF EARL CURZON

Lord Curzon, Lord President of the Council, said in a speech before the House of Lords on March 24 that the recent manifestations in Egypt were predatory rather than political, European shops at Tantah and elsewhere having been looted, and the latest news from Egypt gave cause for less anxiety. A gratifying feature of the troubles, he added, had been the behavior of the Egyptian officials, the army and the police. Concerning the charge that Egyptian peace delegates had been refused at the request of Great Britain, Earl Curzon said that the Government had never opposed the desire of the Egyptian Ministers, Rushdi Pasha and Adly Pasha, to come to England to discuss with the British Government the

future Government of Egypt. But with Said Zagloul Pasha and the other Egyptian Nationalists who had organized the present movement, he said, there could be no common ground for discussion. The presence of these men in England would be interpreted as evidence that Great Britain was willing to consider the complete abandonment of her responsibilities.

ZAGLOUL TO CLEMENCEAU

Concerning Zagloul, who was one of the four men deported from Egypt to Malta by the British authorities, and his demand to attend the Peace Conference with an Egyptian peace delegation, representative of the Egyptian Nationalist Movement, the letter written by him to M. Clemenceau from Cairo of date Jan. 20 was published in Paris on March 23. This letter signed by Said Zagloul, President of the Delegation Egyptienne and Vice President of the Egyptian Legislative Assembly, reads as follows:

In the name of the Egyptian delegation, I have the honor to inclose you a memorandum containing our claims and an exposition of our political and social state. As authentic mandataries of the whole Egyptian people we hope to attend the Peace Conference to lay before it our demands, as all peoples have been allowed to do. Alone among all nations Egypt, by the most crying injustice and most flagrant contradiction, has been deprived even of the right of being heard before her future was decided on. Powerless and unhappy, we have two extra claims to your justice. We are convinced that the Conference will help us in securing justice. It will not be said that after the numberless sacrifices accepted by Egypt, and the promise solemnly given that the Conference will attempt to give complete satisfaction to the peoples in settlement of their lot, our voice will be stifled. Respectfully we adjure you, M. le President, to examine our claims with that high feeling of unity that has always characterized you and to bring our case officially before the Peace Conference.

The pamphlet referred to in the letter has a special paragraph devoted to the League of Nations, which states that "Egypt would regard it as an honor to have its independence guaranteed by the Society of Nations, and to contribute so far as it can to the triumph of the new ideas." The pamphlet contains attacks on Great Britain,

Russia's Warfare on Many Fronts

Military Operations in the Archangel and Other Regions— Deplorable Conditions Under the Soviet Government

[PERIOD ENDED APRIL 15, 1919]

NEWS from Russia during the month under review showed that on the various fronts where the Bolsheviks are waging war they made most progress on the Ukrainian and southern lines. In Archangel, on the whole, the Allies held their own, most of the Bolshevik attacks being repulsed, in some cases with heavy losses to the Bolsheviks. The Allies, however, have been constantly outnumbered in that region, and the fighting on this front has been accomplished under most difficult conditions, while Bolshevik propaganda has been brought constantly into play. To these circumstances, in part, may be attributed the official report of a temporary refusal of American troops to entrain and return to the fighting front unless definite statements were received from the United States Government as to when the American contingent would be withdrawn. The date of such withdrawal was stated by the War Department as the month of June; and an official Canadian statement provided for immediate withdrawal of the Canadian troops this month. The British, on the other hand, have begun the dispatching of considerable reinforcements, well armed and well equipped, and recruiting in England is proceeding steadily.

Along the Baltic the Bolsheviks suffered reverses at the hands of the Lithuanians⁴ and Letts; and the Bolshevik armies from Petrograd and Moscow have been steadily pushed back. On the Pinsk and Grodno fronts also the Bolsheviks were defeated and routed by the Poles.

In the Ukraine, on the contrary, the Bolshevik advance has been attended with success. Denikin's forces in the Cau-

casus were hard pressed on the flanks, while a critical situation developed at Odessa, whose fall was reported on April 9; the Bolsheviks also took the Isthmus of Perekop, which had been fortified by the Allies to protect Sebastopol. The probability of the capture of this important city was foreshadowed in dispatches received here on April 12. The Bolshevik fighting forces in the Ukraine and Southern Russia have shown surprising efficiency, which may account for the unconfirmed report prevalent in Paris that the well-known General Brusilov was in command of the Soviet Ukrainian army. By their conquest of the greater part of South Russia, the Bolsheviks obtained large food supplies. The Bolsheviks having captured Odessa, threatened an advance toward Rumania.

In Siberia the Bolshevik fortunes were unfavorable. Along the northern line measuring some 100 miles from west of Ossia to the upper course of the Kama River, the Soviet armies were pressed back; Ufa and Birska were captured and the Bolsheviks forced back to the west. Admiral Kolchak's forces effected a junction with the Archangel line, and relieved the difficult situation of the Orenburg Cossacks.

Under the Soviet Government the conditions, especially as relating to food, continued to be described as deplorable. One of the main objects of the Bolshevik Ukrainian campaign, it was said, was the procuring of food for North Russia, Petrograd, and Moscow, which were reported to be famishing, and where the death rate from hunger-disease has been extremely high.

The Bolshevik foreign policy seemed to be aiming increasingly at the obtaining of allied recognition; the special Ameri-



MAP SHOWING APPROXIMATE POSITIONS OF BOLSHEVIST AND ANTI-BOLSHEVIST FORCES ON ALL THE FIGHTING FRONTS IN RUSSIA, (MARCH, 1919)

can envoys, Bullitt and Steffens, bore back with them to Paris reassuring accounts of stabilizing conditions in Soviet Russia; and Martens, the Soviet envoy to the United States, was empowered officially by Tchitcherin to bring about between the Soviets and the United States the reopening of trade relations. It was stated on April 11 that Hjalmar Branting, the Swedish Socialist Minister,

and Dr. Fridtjof Nansen, head of the Norwegian Food Mission to the United States, and several other prominent Scandinavians and Swiss had conferred with President Wilson and Herbert Hoover in Paris in an effort to arrange for the feeding of the larger cities of Russia, especially Petrograd. The suggestion of the appointment of a neutral commission, however, would eliminate

the necessity of official recognition of the Lenin-Trotzky Government.

ALLIED RELIEF EXPEDITIONS

American railroad troops, destined for work on the Murman Railway, arrived on the Murman coast on March 28. Other detachments were expected. Announcement was made in London of the appointment of General Wilds P. Richardson to command the American expedition in Northern Russia and of his departure with a detachment of engineers, sanitary workers, and replacement officers; the engineers were to be used to repair and improve the roads from the American front to the sea. Reports to army headquarters had indicated that vessels could get into Archangel with the aid of strong ice breakers.

Much needed war supplies reached Economia, the Winter port of Archangel, on April 1, with the arrival at that port of a 5,000-ton British freight vessel after a difficult three weeks' voyage from Murmansk; only an escort of three ice breakers made it possible for this ship to make its way through the thick ice floes of the White Sea.

On April 3 it was announced from London that the situation of the allied forces at Archangel was serious. American reinforcements had sailed from Murmansk and British relief troops were to follow. (The first transport bearing the British relief force sailed April 9.) Trotzky, it was said, was gathering strong armies to compel surrender of the allied forces while the port of Archangel still remained icebound. Sir Ernest Shackleton declared on April 3 that both the Archangel and Murman fronts were in peril, as the allied forces were very much outnumbered; only immediate reinforcements could avoid the possibility of another Khartum, he said. On April 5, on the other hand, General March in Washington declared that the Archangel military situation was well in hand, and expressed disbelief in the possibility that the allied forces "could be driven into the sea" by the Bolsheviks. General March further announced that the War Department's plan was to have the American forces out of that part of Russia by the end of June. Official an-

nouncement was made on April 1 that Canadian soldiers were to be withdrawn within a month.

Discontent among the American soldiers serving on the Archangel front was officially disclosed in Washington on April 10, when General March, Chief of Staff, made public a paraphrase of a code message from Colonel George E. Stewart, commanding the American troops on that front, stating that the men had threatened a general mutiny unless a definite statement was forthcoming from Washington with regard to the removal of the American forces at the earliest possible date. The message was dated March 31. With regard to withdrawal, General March reiterated the intention to remove the American forces by June.

ALONG THE BALTIC

During March the principal scene of conflict between the Russian Bolsheviks and the Letts was in the region of the Tirul Marsh, which from November, 1915, until the demobilization of the Russian Army two years later, presented a formidable bulwark for Riga against repeated offensives of the German Army. The region is in the old Russian Government of Courland, which is now a struggling Lettish republic extending from the Dvina westward to the Baltic, being bounded on the north by the Gulf of Riga and the Republic of Livonia and on the south by the Republic of Lithuania, which has a claim to 33,430 square miles of territory and a population of 6,000,000.

The republics, together with that of Estonia, which lies between Livonia and the Gulf of Finland, had been holding back Bolshevik columns sent against them—from Petrograd in the northeast and from Moscow in the southeast.

A Lettish offensive began shortly previous to March 17, Lettish troops advancing toward Mitau and capturing the towns of Kandau and Zabeln; the Bolsheviks in Northwestern Courland were in retreat; Tukkum, sixty miles from Riga, was captured by the Letts. The Bolshevik retreat in the whole of North Courland had been cut off, and Lettish troops had reached Blieden, in the centre

of North Courland. A Copenhagen dispatch reported that the Bolsheviks had been seriously defeated between Kovno and Vilna.

The offensive in the Mitau region was developing successfully on March 17, the Letts having captured Shagory, Grenzhof, Weitenfeld, and Alt Autz. The Lettish War Minister had left the English military mission at Libau and had gone to the front. The capture of Mitau itself, an important railway junction town northwest of Riga, was announced on March 20. The Bolsheviks, it was reported, were withdrawing along the whole front and had been compelled to abandon Dvinsk, (Dunaberg,) 110 miles southeast of Riga. On March 22 it was said that the Estonian-Lettish offensive had become so menacing to Petrograd that Trotzky had ordered the mobilization of all men up to the age of 40. According to a report from Kovno, the Bolsheviks were continuing to fall back along their entire western front north of the Pripyat marshes; it was expected that Vilna, the capital of Lithuania, would soon be evacuated of Bolshevik forces.

Libau on March 29 was known to be occupied by the Letts, reinforced by Finnish and Swedish volunteers, who were also to be found in measurable numbers in the Estonian and Livonian armies.*

On April 5 the Estonian Army reported that the enemy was in full retreat on the Pskov front, and that one town and a number of villages were taken and many machine guns captured. A Bolshevik attack upon the Narva was repulsed. The capture of seven villages, 500 prisoners, and large quantities of war material was reported in an official statement, which read:

As a result of Bolshevik defeats, fighting was carried further into Russian territory. On April 6 Estonian

forces crossed the Narova River, south of Narva, and captured seven villages and 200 prisoners. On the same day they stormed the town of Gdov, on the eastern bank of Lake Peipus, and captured 300 men and considerable war material.

According to an official statement issued by the Lithuanian Press Bureau at Kovno on April 6, the Bolsheviks were evacuating the whole of Northern Lithuania after suffering serious losses. At several places Bolshevik soldiers had mutinied and were withdrawing in disorder toward Dvinsk. A Warsaw dispatch of April 10 announced that the Bolsheviks were evacuating Vilna.

On April 5, according to a London dispatch, Trotzky ordered the Russian Baltic fleet to put to sea and attack the Allies, threatening to have all the crews shot if they disobeyed this order.

POLAND AND THE UKRAINE

On March 20 Bolshevik forces, under pressure of Polish troops, were compelled to retire and evacuate Pinsk, 100 miles east of Brest-Litovsk. This and other victories in the Pinsk and Grodno districts were officially reported from the Polish headquarters in Paris on March 26 in a bulletin containing the following details:

The administration of the City of Grodno has been formally taken over by the Polish authorities. The Bolshevik armies occupying the city and district of Pinsk have been beaten by the Poles. The Bolsheviks, in full flight, left behind many cannon, machine guns, ammunition, locomotives, railway material, and 500,000 rubles.

Meanwhile the Bolshevik forces in the Ukraine had shown considerable activity in the endeavor to hack their way through to the Black Sea and Hungary. What was supposed to be the forerunner of an extensive Bolshevik campaign was begun at Vinitza-Koziatyn; advices received from Kishinev on March 17 reported that the Bolsheviks had carried out several successful drives, and had captured Koziatyn itself. Vinitza was expected to fall into their hands at an early date. Only the Ukrainian commander, Petliura, and his staff with their soldiers remained in the town, which had been the provisional seat of the Ukrainian Directorate after its flight

[*The Mitau-Tukkum Railway was the Lettish line of defense against Libau. Tukkum is forty miles due east of Riga and thirty miles northeast of Mitau, which with Riga was reported to be in the hands of the Bolsheviks as late as the middle of March. It will thus be seen that the Bolsheviks were attempting to separate the Letts from Livonia on the north and from Lithuania on the south, and to reach Libau.]

from Kiev in the early part of March. On learning that the Bolshevik forces were within thirty miles of the city, all the Ministers of the Government and their officials left Vinitza in a panic for Kaienitz-Pololsk. In view of this situation the Directorate sent an appeal to the allied military representatives at Odessa through High Commissioners invested with plenary powers to conclude an agreement. Odessa itself, it was feared, was in danger; the advance of French and Rumanian troops across the Dniester into Ukrainian territory for the purpose of occupying Tiraspol and Razdenia was said to be significant.

The great victory of General Denikin in the Caucasus, in which he had been reported to have captured 30,000 Bolsheviks, was somewhat discounted by later developments; dispatches at the end of March, however, showed that his army was still holding in the centre, though the Bolsheviks were pressing back its flanks and had arrived within eighty miles of Rostov. The Allies were pouring in munitions for Denikin's aid.

THE STRUGGLE FOR ODESSA

A critical state of affairs had developed at Odessa, where British and French detachments had been landed soon after the Turkish armistice. Kherson, ninety-two miles northeast of Odessa, had been reported on Feb. 26 to be occupied by Greek troops; the city, however, was captured on March 8 by Ukrainian Soviet forces. The city of Zhitomir was occupied by Soviet troops on March 14. The position of Odessa was made more precarious by these events. Mixed detachments of White Guards, consisting of partisans of General Denikin and General Petliura, were making great efforts to defend the approaches to that city for the purpose of covering the allied line of retreat if evacuation became necessary. Lack of food in Odessa was the chief difficulty faced by the allied forces there.

According to statements made by the War Secretary in the House of Commons on March 26, events of the last few months had been disastrous for the French in the Ukraine. Entering from the south, they had gone some distance from the coast, had met with superior

enemy forces and encountered hostility from the people. Kherson and Nikolaiev, however, had been taken. (At Nikolaiev, it was reported on March 20, the Bolsheviks had lost from 5,000 to 8,000 men, but had forced the French garrison to withdraw to Odessa by sea.) The position of the Bolsheviks near Odessa exposed Rumania to a direct threat of invasion.

The Russian Soviet communiqué on March 25 declared that the Bolshevik vanguards were close upon the suburbs of Odessa. On April 6 it was reported that allied evacuation was imminent, and that the Perekop Isthmus connecting European Russia with the Crimea had been fortified to protect Sebastopol. The accuracy of the forecast was proved on April 9, when the rumor that Odessa had fallen was confirmed officially. The allied forces at Odessa, which numbered approximately 50,000 men, including three French regiments, three Greek regiments, and a Rumanian contingent, had retired to Rumania and Constantinople. The announcement of the city's capture aroused great anxiety in Paris, because it gave the Bolsheviks immense resources of grain, coal, and minerals.

On April 10 the Soviet Government reported the capture of Perekop from the Franco-Greeks. The situation at Kiev was more favorable. On April 3 and again on April 6 it was announced that the Ukrainian forces commanded by Simon Petliura, the peasant leader of the Ukraine, were within a few miles of the city.

THE SIBERIAN FRONT

At Omsk, Siberia, on March 14, Admiral Kolchak, the virtual ruler of Siberia, spoke of the offensive of the Siberian forces against the Bolsheviks as being preliminary to a greater offensive later. After the Spring thaw in the Urals, he said, the Siberian forces would unite with those of General Denikin in the south, and with those at Archangel in the north. The morale of the Siberian troops, he said, was high after a Winter of unremitting warfare. Communities liberated from the Bolsheviks had hailed the Siberian forces with enthusiasm.

According to information received by the Russian Information Bureau in New

York, the Siberian Army, after strong attacks on the Bolsheviks, had occupied Ufa on March 13, capturing a large amount of booty; the Bolsheviks were retreating. The people of Ufa, which had been in Bolshevik hands since Jan. 20, were said to have been reduced to a deplorable condition. On March 24 it was reported that the Siberians had begun a new offensive west of the Urals on a line from Perm to the Trans-Siberian Railway; at certain points the Bolsheviks had been driven back more than thirty miles. The Siberians had captured Okansk, fifty miles southwest of Perm; and on a fifty-mile front between Okansk and Ossa along the Kama River the Bolsheviks had been driven back twenty miles. The Kolchak forces were also reported to have gained marked success in the region of Birsk, northwest of Ufa.

On March 23 the long-expected junction of the Siberians with the Archangel forces occurred at Ust Kozva, in the Pechora district. On March 26 the Siberians, who had pierced the Bolshevik forces on a thirty-mile sector on March 11, were continuing their progress; they had completed the capture of Ossa, southwest of Perm, and were driving the Soviet forces westward in three directions. A large number of Soviet prisoners had been captured and large supplies of stores; three Bolshevik regiments had been annihilated.

ANTI-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA

Strong hostility to the American forces had developed in Siberia, owing partly to the Prinkipo conference proposal, and to the passiveness of American intervention. Americans were dubbed friends of the Bolsheviks, and this attitude was quickly taken up by an unfriendly press. Reassurances by Major Gen. William S. Graves, the American commander, were offset by charges of pro-Bolshevism, arising from the refusal of the Americans to co-operate against the alleged Bolsheviks in the Amur district. The giving of asylum to the revolting Cossacks, described in a previous issue of CURRENT HISTORY, was construed in a similar way. Officials of the State Department at Washington, it was stated

on March 19, thoroughly approved the conduct of the American forces in Siberia under General Graves. The latter, it was added, had received strict instructions before he went to Siberia to avoid any act which would commit the United States Government to either side in any factional troubles.

BOLSHEVIST REVERSES

Dispatches from Omsk via London on April 3 reported that the Bolsheviks were retiring so rapidly on the Orenburg front that the Siberian armies in pursuit could not keep up with them. Fifty miles south of Ufa a whole regiment of Bolshevik cavalry joined Kolchak's forces. The Northern Caucasus from the Black Sea to the Caspian had been cleared of Bolsheviks through the activity of Denikin in January and February. Vlaikavkas was captured on Jan. 28 by General Shkuro, and a great number of prisoners and supplies captured.

Omsk advices on April 5 stated that the Bolsheviks had completely devastated the town of Ossa, forty miles southwest of Perm, before its capture by the Kolchak forces; 2,000 persons had been shot, and all the surviving workmen had been carried off when the Bolsheviks evacuated.

It was reported on April 10 that forces of the Russian Government at Omsk had defeated two Bolshevik regiments in Sarapul, on the Kama River, 150 miles southwest of Perm; the Bolsheviks, it was stated, had lost 900 men. The Russian Commission in Paris announced that the expenditures of the Omsk Government were declining and that a rapid increase in the monthly revenues had begun; these totaled in February 100,000,000 rubles.

The Dresdner Volkszeitung of Feb. 13 reported acts of sabotage directed against the Soviet Government in the Putilov Works in Petrograd, including incendiarism and planned explosions. Russian dispatches accused the Mensheviks and the Social Revolutionists, again, of being agents of Kolchak in bringing about a serious strike of railway men in the Petrograd district. Advices of March 24 indicated that conditions both in Petrograd and in Moscow were de-

plorable. According to Russian police statistics, more than 113,000 persons, or more than 11 per cent. of the entire population, had died in Petrograd in February.

On Feb. 1 the total population of Petrograd was 990,000. In addition to the deaths during the month, 77,000 persons left Petrograd, and on March 1 the population was about 800,000.

American relief workers who left Moscow on Feb. 12 said that deaths in that city early in February averaged 4,000 daily. They said that conditions there were similar to those in Petrograd, where smallpox, typhoid, starvation, and the "hunger plague" were raging unchecked. Coffins were no longer sold in Moscow, but were only rented for use at funerals. Half the factories were closed, and the question of unemployment had become serious.

Ukraine and Volga food supplies could not be transported owing to the breakdown of the railway service. A Soviet Government decree announced that from March 18 to April 10 all passenger service would be discontinued and that nothing but foodstuffs and fuel would be hauled. The Soviet Commissioner of Public Works, in an April issue of *Isvestia*, however, declared that his department was repairing old railroad lines and constructing 2,000 versts of new railway lines. On March 24 brief dispatches announced the death of Sverdlov, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the All-Russian Congress of Soviets. His death was said to have occurred on Feb. 16. Sverdlov had been one of Lenin's strongest supporters.

SOVIET ENVOY IN AMERICA

On March 19 Ludwig C. A. K. Martens issued a statement in New York to the effect that he was the official representative in the United States of George Tchitcherin, Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Lenin-Trotzky Government, and that he was prepared to open trade relations with the United States on behalf of the Soviet Government, guaranteed by a deposit of \$200,000,000 in gold. His credentials, signed by Tchitcherin and bearing the seal of the Russian Commissariat of Foreign Affairs, were sent to Acting

Secretary of State Frank Polk on the same date.

Martens subsequently opened offices in the World Tower Building, 110 West Fortieth Street, as official envoy of the Soviet Government, with various departments and an official staff, including Santeri Nuorteva, the Finnish Bolshevik disseminator of Soviet information. The credentials presented by Martens were not recognized by the Washington Government otherwise than by an acknowledgment of receipt. He announced, however, that he had received many offers from American manufacturers looking to the resumption of trade relations, and that one of his first steps would be to gain control of all property and money in America formerly belonging to the Government of the Czar or to the Governments of Miliukov and Kerensky. The total value of this property, he stated, was \$153,000,000; the effort to gain control of this amount was to be directed by Morris Hillquit, presumably through the courts.

At Hunt's Point Palace, on April 2, Martens preached Bolshevism to an audience of 3,000 people. This brought forth a protest on April 5 from William T. Hornaday, curator of the New York Zoological Park, addressed to the Attorney General of the United States; the protest declared that Martens represented a Government with which the United States was practically at war, and that he should be arrested and interned as an alien enemy.

On April 11 the Union League Club of New York City unanimously adopted resolutions calling upon the Government to take immediate action to put an end to Martens's activities as Soviet representative. These activities meanwhile proceeded uninterruptedly. Martens mailed a demand to Boris Bakhméteff, Russian Ambassador to Washington, calling for the surrender of the embassy building and all its furniture and archives and all moneys in this country belonging to the former Government of Russia. Similar demands were made on Russian Consul Generals in other cities.

It was reported from Vladivostok on March 14 that General Dietrichs had

brought there the relics of the Romanoffs, which he had collected during his investigation of the murders at Ekaterinburg. He showed personal jewelry, belongings, and diaries of the Czar's family, which were being sent for safety abroad. The diary of the Czar was removed to Moscow. This report stated that there was no longer the slightest doubt as to the manner of the death and

disposal of the bodies. Czar Nicholas, his wife Alexandra, and the children were flung naked down deep shafts in a neighboring forest. The bodies were stripped and the clothes and other effects burned near the shafts. A quantity of jewelry broken and partly singed and recognized as belonging to the imperial family was found amid the ashes and in swampy ground.

Lenine and Trotzky

Two Character Sketches by The London Times

I. LENINE

OF articles on Bolshevism there is now no end, but in the labyrinth of conflicting rumors and reports with which he is confronted the impartial reader frequently finds it hard to pick his way. Difficult as it is for him to conjure up before his eyes even the vaguest picture of Bolshevism as a political philosophy, he is completely non-plussed when he attempts to form an estimate of the character and personality of the man who is its creator and its chief exponent.

The truth of the matter is that Lenine is by no means an easy man to know. For years he has enveloped himself in a veil of mystery—a policy dictated as much by personal inclination as by political motives, and outside his own small circle of disciples and admirers there are not only very few Russians who may be said to know him intimately, but even comparatively few who have ever seen him. If, therefore, he appears to the average Englishman as a red-shirted, high-booted pirate chief, the fault is chiefly of his own making. His all-absorbing passion is the gospel of world revolution.

Born at Simbirsk on April 10, 1870, Vladimor Ilitch Ulianoff, alias "Lenine," "Ilitch," "Ilin," "Eylin," is a hereditary noble, and the son of a State Councilor. His mother had a small estate in the Kazan Government, and after her husband's death was in receipt of a State pension. Lenine's two sisters and his

brother Dmitri were at one time all under police supervision, while his brother Alexander was executed in 1887 for complicity in a terrorist plot against the life of Alexander III. Brought up in the Orthodox Faith, Lenine is one of the few genuine Russians to be found among the Bolshevik leaders. After completing his course at the Simbirsk Gymnasium, in 1887 he entered the Kazan University, only to be expelled and banished from Kazan a few months later for participating in an anti-Government students' riot. In 1891, however, we find him attending the University of Petrograd, where he studied law and economics.

In 1895 he made his first journey abroad to Germany, returning in the same year to Petrograd, where he was again arrested on account of his Socialist activities. On this occasion he was exiled for three years to the village of Sushenskoe, in Eastern Siberia, being forbidden on the expiration of his sentence to reside in any of the big cities, factory centres, or university towns of Russia. After his release in 1900 he again went abroad. From this period begins his real career as a Socialist leader, and the next seventeen years are a long cycle of Socialist Congresses abroad, culminating in the Zimmerwald Conferences of 1915 and his dramatic return to Russia in the notorious "sealed" railway car. During this period he visited many countries, including England, and made the acquaintance of all the revolutionary elements in Europe. His favorite residence, however,

was at Poronin, in Galicia, from which point of vantage he was able to maintain a close contact with the revolutionary movement in Russia.

PERSONAL APPEARANCE

Is Lenine a genius? Many Russians have denied it, and certainly there is nothing in his personal appearance to suggest even faintly a resemblance to the superman. Short of stature, rather plump with short, thick neck, broad shoulders, round, red face, high, intellectual forehead, bald head, nose slightly

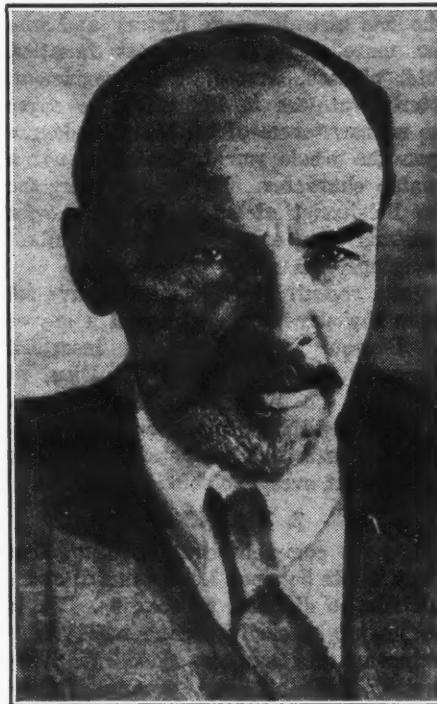
a proficient German scholar, while he writes and speaks English with tolerable accuracy. He is certainly by far the greatest intellectual force which the Russian revolution has yet brought to light.

It is not, however, to his intellectual powers that he owes his predominating position inside his own party. The almost fanatical respect with which he is regarded by the men who are his colleagues, and who are at least as jealous of each other as politicians in other countries, is due to other qualities than mere intellectual capacity. Chief of these are his iron courage, his grim, relentless determination, and his complete lack of all self-interest. In his creed of world revolution he is as unscrupulous and as uncompromising as a Jesuit, and in his code of political ethics the end to be attained is a justification for the employment of any weapon. To him capital is the fiend incarnate, and with such an enemy he neither gives nor asks for mercy.

A FRANK STATEMENT

Yet as an individual he is not without certain virtues. In the many attacks, both justified and unjustified, which have been made against him, no breath of scandal has ever touched his private life. He is married—according to all accounts singularly happily married—and, in a country where corruption has now reached its apogee, he stands out head and shoulders above all his colleagues as the one man who is above suspicion. To Lenine the stories of Bolshevik orgies and carousals have no relation. His own worldly needs are more than frugal, and his personal budget is probably the most modest of all the Bolshevik Commissaries.

Dishonest, treacherous, guilty of the worst forms of secret diplomacy as the Bolsheviks have been in all their public dealings, Lenine himself, on the rare occasions on which he has consented to see a foreign journalist or a foreign official, has always been extraordinarily frank. "Personally, I have nothing against you. Politically, however, you are my enemy, and I must use every weapon I think fit for your destruction. Your Government



NIKOLAI LENINE

turned up, brownish mustache, and short, stubby beard, he looks at the first glance more like a provincial grocer than a leader of men. And yet, on second thoughts, there is something in those steely gray eyes that arrests the attention, something in that quizzing, half-contemptuous, half-smiling look which speaks of boundless self-confidence and conscious superiority. His knowledge of languages is above the average. He is

does the same against me." The individual is only a pawn in the game, and no individual, however dear, however close he may be to Lenine's heart, will ever be allowed to stand in his way. His cruelty, however, is not a question of personal vengeance. Where Trotzky and other Bolsheviks have pursued their enemies with a bitter, personal hatred, Lenine in certain cases, where the individual has been of little account, has even been guilty of acts of clemency. But where Trotzky might shrink through fear of the consequences from shooting 10,000 men in cold blood, Lenine, although he is not one of the chief advocates of the terror, would assuredly not hesitate if he thought such an action were essential to the advancement of his cause.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

No one who has ever been present at a Bolshevik Congress can have any doubts as to the real driving power behind the Bolshevik movement. In the numerous political crises through which the Bolsheviks have passed during their eighteen months' tenure of the Russian political stage, Lenine's has been the master mind which time and again has averted the almost inevitable disaster and restored the fallen fortunes of a party that had temporarily lost both its head and its heart. In debate he is an unrivaled dialectician, facing his opponents with an unruffled temper which is provokingly irritating in its serenity.

Politicians of many years' experience might well be puzzled by the madly incongruous, peculiarly Russian questions which are put by ignorant delegates at every Bolshevik Congress. Lenine, however, is never at a loss. He is as sure of himself as a schoolmaster with a class of small boys. A delegate asks an impossible question about the Brest Peace and the doctrine of self-determination. Like a flash comes the reply: "One foolish man can ask more questions in a minute than ten wise men can answer in a day." And, like schoolboys at a conjuring entertainment, the assembly claps its hands and grins with childish delight.

Of course he is a demagogue, has

made use of all the demagogue's arts. But behind all the inconsistencies of his policy, the tactics, the manoeuvring, there lies a deep-rooted plan which he has been turning over in his mind for years and which he now thinks is ripe for execution. Demagogues have no constructive program. Lenine, at least, knows exactly what he wishes to achieve and how he means to achieve it. Where other politicians try to adapt their program to the needs and desires of society, Lenine is attempting to fit society to the narrow frames of his rigid, Prussianlike program.

A fanatic if you like, but a fanatic who has already made history and who has more genius than most fanatics. Cold, pitiless, devoid of all sentiment, utterly ruthless in his effort to force the narrow tenets of his Marxian dogma upon the whole world, Lenine is not a lovable character. He is, however, the one Bolshevik of whom non-Bolshevik Russians can ever be brought, albeit grudgingly, to speak with respect.

Quite recently the Bolsheviks have set up in the streets of Petrograd a statue to Blanqui on which is inscribed Blanqui's famous motto, "Ni Dieu, ni Maître." To present-day Russia the words are pitifully inappropriate. Bolshevik Russia has a master, and in his secret heart every Bolshevik knows it.

2. TROTZKY

A more complete contrast than that which exists between Lenine and Trotzky it would be difficult to imagine. While Lenine might easily escape notice in a gathering of Sunday school teachers, Trotzky, with his long, prominent nose, his fierce, black eyes, his huge forehead surmounted by great masses of black, waving hair, his pointed beard and mustache, and his heavy, cruel, protruding lips, is the very incarnation of the revolutionary of the picture books.

Born in 1877 in the Government of Kherson, the son of a provincial chemist, Leiba Bronstein, or, as he is now known to the world, Lev Davidovitch Trotzky, is a Jew of the Jews. From his earliest years he has been in revolt against society, and as a boy of fifteen we hear of his being expelled from school for

deseccrating an ikon. When only twenty-two he was arrested at Odessa on account of his connection with the South Russian Workmen's League, and was banished for four years to Eastern Siberia.

In the third year of his exile he escaped from the town of Verkholensk, to appear again in the revolution of 1905 as President of the Petrograd Council of Workmen at the early age of twenty-

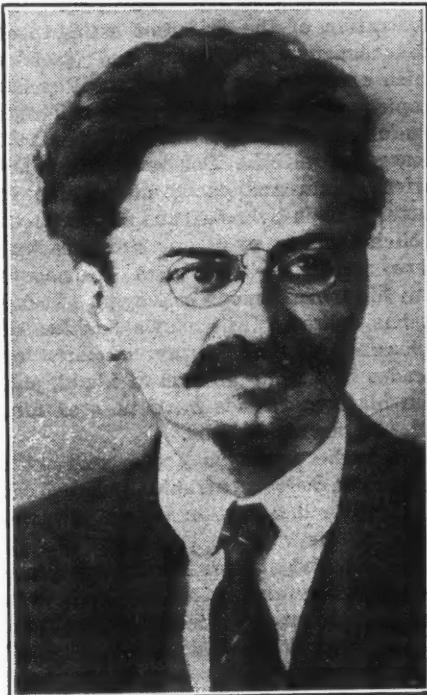
lived in turn in France, Switzerland, Austria, and Germany, supporting himself mainly by journalism, for which he has a decided bent. In Vienna he edited an Austrian *Pravda*, while in Germany he published his well-known history of the first Russian revolution. Like Lenine, he has an excellent knowledge of German, speaks fluent French, and understands a little English. His powers of conversation, however, in the last-named language are decidedly limited.

HIS FIRST PARTY

At the beginning of the war he was in Paris, where he edited a Russian Socialist paper called *Nashe Slovo* and the *Golos*. Unlike Lenine, Trotzky has not always been a Bolshevik, and his Paris articles were subjected to severe criticism from the pen of his present chief and colleague. After the great split in the Russian Social Democratic Party Trotzky sided with the Mensheviki. A little later, however, not knowing which party was destined to come to the top, he formed a small party of his own, known as the "Trotzkists," whose aim was to steer a middle course between the two currents of Menshevism and Bolshevism.

Such opportunism was hardly likely to escape the notice of Lenine, who is, and always has been, just as severe in his condemnation of the Socialist who does not agree with him as of the most rabid capitalist. In these circumstances it is not surprising to learn that Trotzky's original attitude to the war should have been regarded by Lenine as tainted with Chauvinism. In July, 1915, we find Lenine writing in Switzerland in his *Social Democrat* as follows: "Trotzky, as always, is in principle opposed to the Social Chauvinists, but in practice he is always in agreement with them." A few months later he writes again:

Judging Trotzky by his writings, we have come to the conclusion that his political interest, his political conduct, consists in avoiding a complete rupture with the Socialist Chauvinists and opportunists. In this respect the lessons of the war have taught Trotzky nothing. He remains a Trotzkist. Just as formerly he stood for co-operation with the Socialist



LEON TROTZKY

eight. After the collapse of the revolution he was again arrested. On this occasion he was deprived of all his rights as a citizen and was again exiled—this time for life—to Eastern Siberia. Here he lived at Berezoff, the last resting place of more than one great Russian statesman who had lost the favor of his imperial master or mistress. Trotzky, however, must have a genius for escape, for within six months of his arrival he once more evaded his guards and disappeared abroad.

During the succeeding ten years he

"compromisers," so today he stands for co-operation with the Socialist patriots.

Today, however, Trotzky has committed himself irrevocably to the Bolshevik cause, but it cannot be said that he has the same rigid political principles as Lenine. At times, too, in his impetuosity he has found it difficult to fall into line with Lenine's policy of reculer pour mieux sauter. While Lenine is almost temperamentless, Trotzky is all fire, all passion. He has the temperament of the artist and delights in theatrical heroics.

While Lenine sneers at public honor, presumably on the grounds that there is no honor among thieves, and therefore none among capitalists, Trotzky makes great play with the word. He was defending Russia's "honor" at Brest. It pleased him to bandy paradoxes with the German Generals, and his sense of flattery was tickled when a well-known American declared in admiration that "if the German General Staff bought Trotzky they bought a lemon." After Brest, however, the lemon was indeed sour. Trotzky's dignity had suffered an affront, and he returned to Petrograd full of wrath with Germany and breathing threats of revenge. At that moment he would willingly have died fighting if all Russia had been present to see him do it.

IMPETUOUS AND HOT-HEADED

When the Bolshevik Government left Petrograd in order to ratify the peace at the Moscow Congress Trotzky remained behind to sulk in his den at Smolny. A few days later, however, his equanimity was restored by the offer of the Commissariat of War—an office in which his boundless energy and organizing talents have been of the greatest service to the Bolsheviks. Impetuous and hot-headed, he is apt, like the Queen in "Alice in Wonderland," to solve every crisis with a wild shriek of "Off with his head!" On more than one occasion it has needed all Lenine's tact and discretion to rescue the Bolshevik bark from the rocks on to which Trotzky's fiery energy had driven it. As Tchitcherin said last July, "It is funny how the military idea has gone to Trotzky's head. A few months ago Lenine had to restrain him from making war on Germany. Now it is Lenine's

cool brain that holds him back from declaring war on the Allies."

A DESPERATE MAN

As an orator Trotzky is a powerful demagogue, hissing out his words with a degree of hate which is not without effect. He is apt, however, to lose his temper in the face of opposition and to take refuge in mere abuse. Rumor has many unkind things to say about his private life and his commercial honesty. They may be untrue, but they give an illustration of the different estimate of the characters of Lenine and Trotzky which exists in the mind of the Russian people. Always neatly dressed and with carefully manicured nails, he is the best dressed of all the Bolshevik Commissaries. Vain and easily susceptible to flattery, he is by no means averse from publicity and is, or at any rate was, far more accessible to foreign journalists than his more famous colleague. Today he has imitated Kerensky's fashion of appearing at Red Army concerts or parades in a semi-uniform of khaki, and even his own friends have taunted him with Napoleonic designs.

When the world is going well with him he can be very affable, and, indeed, is not without a certain charm of manner. In this way he has been able at times to make a favorable first impression upon foreigners, one American in a fit of exuberance once describing him as "the greatest Jew since Christ." These impressions, however, do not stand the test of time. Behind those fierce, black eyes lurks ever the demon of suspicion and mistrust. It is this ever-present fear of treachery which inspires the terrible, pitiless cruelty of which he has been guilty. It was probably after much hesitation and with some misgivings that Trotzky finally threw in his lot with the Bolsheviks. Today, however, he knows that he has crossed a Rubicon to which there is no returning. More conscious of, less indifferent than Lenine to, the fate that awaits him in the event of failure, he is prepared to sell his life dearly and to shrink before nothing in his attempt to carry Bolshevism, by fair means or foul, into the four corners of Europe.

The Lenine-Trotzky Government

Definite Declarations Concerning It by American and British Ambassadors

UNITED STATES AMBASSADOR FRANCIS

David R. Francis, American Ambassador to Russia, was one of the chief witnesses before the United States Senate committee that investigated Bolshevism in February and March, 1919. A considerable portion of his testimony was given in the April issue of CURRENT HISTORY. Additional passages are here presented from the official proofsheets of his exhaustive study of the subject. Mr. Francis's personal estimate of Lenine and Trotzky, as stated in the Senate inquiry, is as follows:

I THINK that Lenine was a German agent from the beginning. They would never have permitted him to come through Germany if they had not thought or known they could use him. He disbursed money very liberally. Lenine, however, was not so opposed to Germany as he was in favor of promoting a worldwide social revolution. I wired the department that I thought that was his object in the beginning. He would have taken British money, American money, and French money and used it to promote this objective of his. He told a man who asked what he was doing in Russia that he was trying an experiment in Government on the Russian people. He is a sincere man, with sincere convictions, I think. I do not think he is right by a good deal, because later, when his power was tottering and could not be maintained in any other way, he encouraged or permitted the reign of terror that is now prevailing in Russia.

Lenine is the brains of this whole movement. He has a great intellect. He is a fanatic and I think has sincere convictions.

I could not say the same about Trotzky. I think Trotzky is an adventurer. He has great ability. He has more executive ability than Lenine, but when they have differed Lenine has always been able to dominate Trotzky.

THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT

Concerning the Soviet Government, Ambassador Francis made the following statements:

There is as much difference between the Bolshevik revolution and the provisional Government as there was between the provisional Government and the Imperial Government. * * * They suppress all newspapers that oppose their views. * * * I know that any newspaper that had a criticism of the Bolshevik Government, or the Soviet Government, was suppressed immediately after its publication of that criticism. * * * They are there as usurpers. I do not think they represent more than 10 per cent. of the Russians of the whole 180,000,000.

They always hoped to have the recognition of our Government, and I thought that our Government could not recognize them, and so stated to our Government. I have been consistent in that all along, and persistent. I thought that they were against our Government as well as against all organized Governments; that their decrees concerning women, marriage, and divorce, and their land decrees, confiscating all lands and all industries whatever, meant the breaking up of the family and a return to barbarism, and I think so now. They do not merit recognition. They do not merit even business relations, because of their prejudices. They have instituted a reign of terror. They are killing everybody who wears a white collar or who is educated and who is not a Bolshevik.

Referring to one execution of which he had knowledge, the Ambassador said:

There was no trial whatever, and no charges preferred. * * * That was

the case in Petrograd. They called No. 2 Garoki, via the morgue. When a man was sent there he bade farewell to hope. A man who had recently been in Moscow stated that he saw human blood flowing out under the gate of the inclosure there, where they had been shooting men charged with counter-revolutionary sentiments. They did not hesitate about shooting people. When the cholera was prevalent in Petrograd, as it was last August and September, Zenoviev, who was then Chief Commissary of the Soviet, made a speech in which he charged the bourgeoisie with being responsible for the cholera, and he said: "If any Red Guard thinks that a physician is not doing his duty, he will shoot him on the spot." That was giving license to the Red Guards to shoot down physicians wherever they saw fit. Oh, it is a disgrace to civilization—not only irreparable injury to Russia, but a disgrace to civilization! * * * It is worse than an anarchistic Government, because anarchists believe only in destroying property, as I understand it, while these people believe in destroying human life as well as property. Lenine, and Trotzky, and Radik, and Tchitcherin, and Zenoviev realize that they have to kill people in order to maintain themselves. The bourgeoisie of that country and the intelligentsia are all cowed. They have no arms. * * * They [the Bolsheviks] went through the houses and took the arms and everything of value, and I have heard of their breaking mirrors and sticking bayonets through works of art.

GERMAN INFLUENCE

Regarding German influence in Russia, Mr. Francis said:

I think Germany has had more control of the industries of Russia since the beginning of the war than she had before, although they have nominally arrested a great many of the officials and interned them. That was done under the Imperial Government, and it was pursued under the Provisional Government; but the German influence is now in every line of human endeavor. They not only own two or three banks in Petrograd, and as many in Moscow, but, as

I stated this morning, they control the manufacture of glass, the manufacture of chemicals, and the sugar interest, and various other industries.

The Germans were buying up the stocks of the banks, and I understood from what I considered reliable authority that the Germans had petitioned the Soviet Government to postpone the de-nationalizing of the banks in order to enable them to buy up more shares of stock.

Germany has been exploiting Russia for thirty or forty years, and if this Bolshevik Government is left in control, if disorder prevails in Russia, peace will be impossible in Europe. I think Germany will exploit Russia if the disorder is allowed to continue there; so that Germany, instead of having been defeated in this war, will have gained a victory, and will be stronger ten years from now than she was at the beginning of the war.

NEVER AIDED ALLIES

Asked if the Lenine-Trotzky Government ever stated to him that they wanted to get into the war to aid the United States and her allies against the Central Powers, the Ambassador replied:

They never stated it to me. I extended every encouragement I could to them to present an organized front in order to prevent the German divisions that had been on the eastern front from being sent over to the western front, and I told Robins to say to them that I would recommend a modus vivendi if they would organize an opposition. They put to him a number of questions, which he transmitted through the War Department code, asking what America and the Allies would do; but they invariably accompanied that by a statement that the great social revolution should not be interfered with.

Colonel Robins stated it to me in this way, that he thought if we recognized them they would present an organized opposition to Germany. I said, "If you will have them make that promise to me, I do not know that I will recommend recognition, but I will recommend the establishment of business relations or a

modus vivendi with them." But I always believed that Lenine and Trotzky were German agents, and consequently I would not have trusted them at any time. I would not have believed them. [Their failure to oppose Germany, said the Ambassador subsequently, confirmed his suspicions.]

They declared an armistice, without consulting any of the Allies. I think that if Russia had stood up to her obligations the war would have been ended a year before it was ended, and millions of lives could have been saved. Russia lost more men in the war than any other country, although she quit the war a year before it ended. I think she lost at least 2,000,000 men, and there were

thousands of Russians imprisoned in German and Austrian prison camps when I arrived at Petrograd in April, 1916.

They treated us [the Americans] better than they treated the British or the French, because they were always hoping for and expecting recognition by our Government; but they declared themselves against all organized Governments, and they called our Government a capitalistic Government, and said that it was oppressing the working classes.

I regard it [the Bolshevik Government] as a menace to the peace of Europe and a menace to the peace of the world. That is my judgment, derived from two years and eight months' residence in Russia.

Testimony of Sir George Buchanan, British Ambassador

Sir George Buchanan, who was Ambassador at Petrograd during the war, delivered in London on March 25, 1919, an address entitled "Russia and Great Britain: Their Relations Under the Empire, the Provisional Government, and the Bolsheviks." The portion dealing with the Soviet Government may be summarized as follows:

Lenine, Sir George said, was a fanatic who had treated Russia as a pawn in his game and had used her as a stepping stone to the realization of his dream of a socialistic millennium and of a universal communistic State. He had been the directing brain of the movement, while Trotzky and the other Commissaries were but its executive officers. Lenine had taken money from Germany and accepted the assistance of German agents to organize his forces, but he had done that for a set purpose, and was not, like many of his followers, a paid German agent.

Sir George spoke of the murder of members of the imperial family, a crime which he could neither palliate nor condone. The Emperor was far from being a bloodthirsty tyrant, as his executioners represented him, and under his rule Russia was a happier and more prosperous country than it would ever be under the merciless tyranny of the present de facto Government. Nor did he or the Empress ever contemplate the betrayal either of their country or of the allied cause, and their murders could not be justified on that account. Had

such crimes as those of which the Bolsheviks had been guilty been committed under the empire a storm of indignation would have swept through Great Britain; but now, even when innocent children like the little Grand Duchesses had been murdered in cold blood, hardly a voice was raised in condemnation of the crime, while in certain quarters one found a latent sympathy with their murderers.

RUSSIA'S PATHETIC FIGURE

Russia had for the time being ceased to exist as a political entity. Her voice no longer carried weight in the council chambers of Europe. She was, indeed, a tragic and pathetic figure. During the first two years of the war she spent herself in an effort that exhausted her, and she had not strength to endure to the end. Had she not made that stand France would have been crushed before we could have come to her assistance. Germany might have won the war. We should, therefore, remember that, though Russia did not share in our triumph, though the Russian flag with its blood-stained laurels no longer floated side by

side with the standards of her allies, Russia had none the less contributed her share to our final victory.

Was it not then our duty to acquit the debt of honor which we owed her? Was it not right we should try to save her suffering people from the remorseless tyranny under which they were groaning? If we were to be consistent, if we were not to draw a fine distinction between German autocratic militarism and Bolshevik autocratic terrorism, we could not leave Russia to her fate. Lenin, like the German Emperor, aimed at world domination, and openly reigned supreme. Before the conclusion of the armistice Lenin predicted that the Allies would impose such humiliating terms on Germany that the latter would turn Bolshevik, and he expressed the confident hope that the combined forces of Russia and Germany would then be able to continue the struggle against the Allies long enough to provoke revolutionary risings in their countries. He realized that Bolshevism, if confined to Russia, was doomed. He was, therefore, making tremendous efforts to turn Central Europe into one great Bolshevik camp, and he had, it would appear, already succeeded in winning over Hungary to his side.

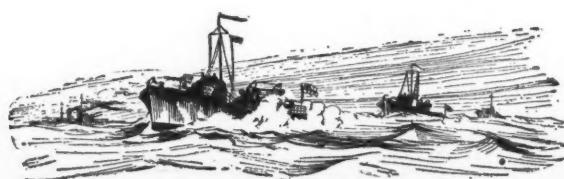
POLICY OF ISOLATION

To prevent the spread of the Bolshevik poison, Sir George Buchanan said it had been proposed to draw a sanitary cordon round Russia, and to isolate her completely. He personally believed that such a policy would in the end cost us more, and be less effective, than were we to strike boldly at the heart of the disease and eradicate the cancer that was sapping Russia's vital energies. Though we could not employ conscripted troops for that purpose, volunteers for service in Russia might be forthcoming when

the men who had been demobilized had had a few months' rest at home. One could never, as had been suggested, hope to save Russia by economic relief alone. Military assistance and economic relief must go hand in hand if we were to help the Russians to free themselves from Bolshevik tyranny. The task was not gigantic as was generally supposed, for the capture of Moscow and Petrograd would suffice to sound the death knell of Bolshevism as a political force. The other alternative open to us, that of withdrawing our troops and leaving Russia to work out her own salvation, would leave an indelible stain on the British name, for it would be tantamount to delivering over to certain death those who, in answer to our summons, had rallied round our flag, while it would inevitably throw Russia sooner or later into the arms of Germany.

There would be no permanent peace in the world if we ever allowed Germany to control Russia's vast man power and untold natural wealth. There was another danger. Lenin was not only inciting fellow-subjects in India to revolt, but was turning his attention to China, in the hope of drawing recruits to maintain himself in power. To leave him time to do so would be a suicidal policy.

The Russian problem was the dominating factor in the European situation, and our interest and our honor both demanded that we should face it with courage and determination. To shrink from doing so was a confession of impotence that would render vain all our sacrifices in the war. God grant that at some no distant time a new, free, and united Russia might once more stretch out the hand of friendship to us and march by our side along the road of peace, progress, and enlightenment.



Bolshevism Expounded by Bolsheviks

Some Official Pronouncements

IN the first issue of Struggling Russia, a new weekly magazine devoted to Russian problems, published by the Russian Information Bureau in New York City, there appeared on March 22, 1919, and in subsequent issues, translations of certain documents that throw light on the Bolshevik theory and on the method by which that theory is put into practice.

The first document embodies portions of Zinoviev's speech before the Petrograd Soviet on Jan. 27, 1919, as reported in the Krasnaya Gazeta, a Bolshevik daily. This speech is of interest because of Zinoviev's prominence as a Bolshevik leader, and because it characterizes the Bolshevik attitude toward the Allies, not only in respect to their proposal of the Prinkipo conference, but also generally and fundamentally.

The speech began with a violent attack upon the Peace Conference at Paris. The conference, said the speaker, was made up, not of representatives of the people, but of the bankers, the bourgeoisie, and the "robber Governments." These "five great robber powers" were dictating to the world to the detriment of the masses. Only a revolution from one end of Europe to the other could prevent their solution of the problems of future society. Resolved that the disorder in Russia must be brought to an end, they had at first sought by armed force to accomplish their purposes, but, realizing the danger and uncertainty of this method, they had changed their tactics, deeming it expedient "to display the tail of the cunning fox instead of the teeth of the fierce wolf." The declaration which they sent out said that they regarded the Russian people as their friends; they had had the effrontery to declare that they recognized the right of the Russian people to manage their own affairs without foreign intervention, and that they also recognized the Russian revolution, and disavowed every attempt at counter-revolution. "When one

reads these lines of the allied declaration," continued Zinoviev, "one cannot help asking: 'Are you not ashamed to be so brazenly lying at every step and turn?'" Their desire to bring the Soviet delegates together with the other Governments of Russia in an attempt at reconciliation was senseless, yet this purpose, senseless and transparent as it was, had "a big political significance, and the Petrograd Soviet should know it."

DISTRUST OF THE ALLIES

The real situation, according to Zinoviev, was as follows:

The Soviet troops were advancing successfully, taking city after city, and destroying all nests of the counter-revolution; meanwhile the revolution in Europe was advancing so fast that the English and the French were afraid to send their armies to Russia, even though they were compelled to support Denikine, Kolchak, and Durov; understanding at last that they could not overcome the Soviet by force, they were attempting to take it by cunning. They knew that the Russian people were exhausted, that further struggle was difficult, and that this war demanded countless sacrifices; they knew, furthermore, that the peasants were loath to continue fighting. But the Soviet would never trust the people who for two years had supported the Russian counter-revolution; if it sent delegates, this would be only "to tear the masks off these allied gentlemen." But let them not think that the Soviet would "cease, even for a minute, to organize the Red Army and to advance victoriously on all the fronts." Zinoviev's speech concluded as follows:

It is true we have no diplomats, adepts in the game of treachery and falsehood, but we have men who will be in a position to tear off the masks from the Japanese and American bandits. We do not trust their smiles; we have no confidence in their Judas Iscariot kisses! The Soviet rule will not lay down its arms. We say to all: These are the

first fruits of our labors. The day is near when the very devil will have no terrors for us!

THE RED TERROR

From *Izvestia* (News) and The Northern Commune, both official Bolshevik publications, the following statistics are taken:

The Northern Commune on Sept. 9, 1918, said that the Extraordinary Commission had arrested and sent to concentration camps over 130 hostages from among the bourgeoisie, including members of the Cadet Party, Social Revolutionists of the Right, former officers, and well-known members of the propertied class and policemen. The same paper stated on Sept. 10 that in the Yaroslav Government manifestly anti-Soviet elements were being shot, suspected persons interned in concentration camps, and non-working sections of the population subjected to compulsory labor. On Sept. 11 it announced that martial law had been proclaimed in Atkarsk, and that eight counter-revolutionists had been shot. In Astrakhan, this paper said on Sept. 18, the Extraordinary Commission had shot ten Social Revolutionists of the Right involved in a plot against the Soviet power. A priest and a Deacon in Karamyshev had been shot for agitation against the Soviet decree separating Church from State. In Perm, in retaliation for the assassination of Uritzky, (in the Fall of 1918,) and for the attempt on Lenin's life, fifty hostages from among the bourgeois classes and the White Guards were shot.

In the evening issue of Sept. 18, The Northern Commune reported a meeting of the Soviet of the First District of Petrograd. After a memorandum which emphasized the necessity of suppressing the bourgeois press, the following resolution was passed:

The meeting welcomes the fact that mass terror is being used against the White Guards and higher bourgeois classes, and declares that every attempt on the life of any of our leaders will be answered by the proletariat by the shooting down not only of hundreds, as the case is now, but of thousands of White Guards, bankers, manufacturers, Cadets, (Constitutional Democrats,) and Social-Revolutionists of the Right.

In the issue of Sept. 19 the same

paper published a speech made by Zinoviev containing the following passage:

To overcome our enemies we must have our own Socialist militarism. We must win over to our side 90,000,000 out of the 100,000,000 of population of Russia under the Soviets. As for the rest, we have nothing to say to them: they must be annihilated.

The Northern Commune on Sept. 19, 1918, published the following decision of the Council of People's Commissaries:

The Council of the People's Commissaries, having considered the report of the Chairman of the Extraordinary Commission, finds that under existing conditions it is most necessary to secure the safety of the rear by means of terror. All persons belonging to the White Guard organizations or involved in conspiracies and rebellions are to be shot. Their names and the particulars of their cases are to be published.

In a report of the meeting of the Executive Committee of the Moscow Soviet, Oct. 16, printed on the following day by the *Izvestia*, occurs the following:

The report of the work of the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission was read at a secret session of the Executive Committee. But the report and the discussion of it were held behind closed doors and will not be published. [The All-Russian Extraordinary Commission has its seat in Moscow.]

The *Izvestia* of Oct. 19, 1918, under the heading of "The Conference of the Extraordinary Commission," stated that the total number of people arrested by the commission amounted to 6,220. Eight hundred were shot. The same paper announced on Oct. 5 that six ringleaders in a riot in the Kirsanov district, directed against the Soviet Government, had been shot.

WHOLESALE EXECUTIONS

In an article by Eugene Trupp, a prominent Social Revolutionist and a member of the All-Russian Constituent Assembly, published in *Zemlia i Volia* (Land and Freedom) on Oct. 3, 1918, the following statistics were given:

After the murder of Uritzky in Perm 1,500 people were arrested in Petrograd; 512, including 10 Social Revolutionists, were shot. At the same time 800 people were arrested in Moscow; the number of these shot was unknown. In Nizhni-

Novgorod, 41 were shot; in Yaroslav, 13; in Astrakhan, 12 Social Revolutionists; in Sarapul, 1; in Penza, about 40 officers; in Kuznetzk people were being shot daily in masses. These statistics, the writer stated, fell far short of the actual facts.

Other details given by M. Trupp may be summed up as follows:

Dora Kaplan, who attempted the life of Lenine, was tortured and finally shot. Maria Spiridonova, who had become an adherent of the Soviet program, had been imprisoned for three months in the Kremlin; she had written from there of the horrors of Soviet imprisonment; all the horrors of her life during eleven years of hard labor in Siberia appeared colorless compared to her experiences as a prisoner of the Soviet. On Sept. 6 a demonstration of Red Guards took place in Moscow, in which were demanded "deeds for words" and "relentless red terror in the fight against the bourgeoisie." This method was to be applied also against the counter-revolutionists, the White Guards, the right wing of the Social Revolutionists, the Mensheviks, and against all who opposed the Soviet power. The last days of his stay in Moscow and Soviet Russia M. Trupp described as a period of horror; all people were terrorized; spies were everywhere; reports of people being arrested and shot were circulating; all were filled with fear and trembling.

WIPING OUT THE BOURGEOISIE

N. Bukharin, a Bolshevik leader, in a pamphlet entitled "The Program of the Communist Party, or Bolsheviks," expounded the stand of the Bolsheviks on civil liberties. This pamphlet stated that as it is the aim of the workmen and

peasants to wipe out the bourgeoisie, this class must be denied all "great liberties," including the right of suffrage. In response to the charges of suppression of the press, of arrests and prohibition of meeting, of despotic methods, of violation and assassination, the author of the pamphlet draws a distinction between the press of the bourgeoisie and that of the laborers, between gatherings of counter-revolutionists and those of workmen, between strikes of laborers against capitalists and strikes of bourgeois intellectuals against the proletariat. The press, assemblies, and unions, he explains, are instruments of class struggle; weapons of civil war, like cannon, powder, or machine guns. The only question is, What class is using them, and against what class are they directed?

The Northern Commune recently published a report in which the Bolshevik prisons are described by the Bolsheviks themselves. This report states that the presiding officers of the Soviet of the Viborg district decided to send a delegation to the prisons of that district when they heard that terrible conditions prevailed there. They found that the prisoners were starving; many of them had been in prison for eight months without trial, because the commission charged with the investigation of their cases had not been in session. The report declared the conditions in the prison to be indescribable. The cells were repulsively dirty; there was neither clean linen nor pillows; punishments occurred for the least offense. The prisoners were living ghosts, starving, too weak to talk. Corpses remained for hours among the living. The fare consisted of warm water supposed to be soup; no meat or bread was ever given.

How Russian Officers Were Murdered

The following gruesome account of the cruel murder of Russian officers was vouched for by the correspondent of the Reuter Press Service at Rostov-on-Don under date of Feb. 1, 1919:

TWO eyewitnesses of the murder of the famous Russian General Russki, the hero of the Galician campaign, have told a terrible tale. The first describes the scene when the "Intelli-

gentsia" at Kislovodsk were told off to dig trenches.

When the General's turn came to have his spade handed to him, the Bolshevik Commissary in charge, reading out his

name, exclaimed: "Stop; that is General Russki. Is that not you, General?"

"Yes, it is I."

"When did I see you last?" Then, turning to the Red Guards, the Commissary asked: "Does any one here know Russki?" "We do. We do," was the answer.

"What fool sent you here?" continued the Commissary. "Russki should command, not dig trenches. I don't forget you were my commander. I remember and love you. If you'd only command us!"

"I can fight against Germans; but against Russians, no," answered the General. He was then freed and sent home, only to be arrested as a hostage two or three weeks later by a new Commissary.

The other story comes from a near relative, and is about his end. General Russki was one of the second party of hostages to be shot. This party was taken outside the town and made to dig a trench for a general grave. When this was done they were ordered to undress. General Russki refused, saying: "No, I shall not; you can strip my corpse later." He then knelt to pray. The executioner ran in and struck off his right hand with his sword and another following slashed off his head.

With him died General Radko Dmi-

trieff, Prince Urussoff, and many others, cut and mangled to death. Then the bodies were thrown into the pit, and before they could be covered with earth those who were not yet dead tried to climb out from under the bodies of their comrades. Nevertheless, both living and dead were buried.

The official organ of the Don Government gives an eyewitness's report of the horrors perpetrated by the Red Guards at Sarepta, near Tsaritzin. Forty-seven wounded officers of the Officers' Battalion were taken prisoner and shot under the following circumstances: These officers, with blood running from undressed wounds, were marched outside the town to be shot. First they were made to dig a hole to serve as their grave. Weak from loss of blood, they frequently fell. However, under the lash of the knout some sort of a hole was dug.

A line was formed facing the pit, and, with rifle in hand, an 18-year-old Tartar Alim stepped ten paces from the grave and opened fire. In the course of ten minutes thirty-seven men lay in the hole, some dead and some only wounded, but all alike destined to be buried. The remaining ten were tortured. Their hands were tied behind their backs, while the right eye of each was put out with the point of a sword.

Allied Policy in Russia

Address by M. Pichon

STEPHEN PICHON, French Minister of Foreign Affairs, made a set speech in the Chamber of Deputies on March 28, 1919, defending the action of the French Government in Russia, which had been attacked by the French Socialists. He said that the instructions given to the troops were not to intervene in the internal policy of the country, but to establish order with the help of the Russians themselves, and from this policy the Government had not deviated. The charge that they were unjustly making war on Russia arose from too hastily identifying Bolshevism with Russia. "Our former ally, toward whom

we desire to remain loyal, is too hastily confounded with those who have seized power in the country in violation of all laws." War had not been declared against Russia, but was waged against Bolshevism, which was a plague, not only for Russia but for humanity. "We are, moreover, in good company—Great Britain, America, Italy, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Japan, Rumania—in short, all who have fought against Germany."

Dealing with the insinuation that all the world was "Czarist" when it was not for Lenin and Trotzky, M. Pichon said the real propagators of Czarism

were those who, by taking the part of anarchy in those regions, were inevitably preparing the ground for the return of a monarchy.

ALLIED FORCES IN THE NORTH

Describing the military situation in Russia, he said:

At Murmansk, where we intervened in agreement with the Tschaikovsky Government, the situation has been stationary for many months past. At Archangel, after a protracted period of calm, the Bolsheviks suddenly took the offensive with, as I must admit, a certain efficiency due to the fact that they have Germans among their officers. The Allies are established in solid positions fifty miles distant from their original position.

Do you want to know what are exactly the allied effectives? It has been alleged that France was supplying the greatest number of men. That is not true, as is proved by the following figures. At Archangel there are:

13,100 British,
4,820 Americans,
2,349 French,
1,340 Italians,
1,280 Serbians,
11,770 Russians.

Admiral Kolchak's Government increases daily in strength. It represents Russian unity, and has declared for the Constituent Assembly, and with the utmost definiteness it has grouped under its authority the Governments of Archangel and Ekaterinodar.

As to the command in Siberia, an agreement has been come to between the French and British Governments that General Janin shall be Commander in Chief of the operations, and that the British General, General Knox, shall be in command of the rear. It is certain that the military position of the Bolsheviks at this particular point is becoming more and more difficult. In a dispatch received from Omsk I read as follows: "The allied troops during the last few days have advanced in the direction of Samara, surrounding the Fifth Bolshevik Army, which has withdrawn to the south. The Bolshevik advance seems to have been held up."

THE SIBERIAN FORCES

The allied Governments have, moreover, settled the important and delicate Trans-Siberian question, thus facilitating the transport of provisions for the troops. What are our effectives?

Czechoslovaks	.55,000	British	.....	1,600	
Poles	.....	12,000	French	.....	760
Serbians	.....	4,000	Japanese	.....	28,000
Rumanians	....	4,000	Americans	....	7,500
Italians	.....	2,000	Canadians	....	4,000

Making a total of 118,000 men, and, adding the Russian forces, 210,000 men.

I come to Southern Russia. The allied action there was assigned to France. It consists in the control of the German troops, support for the local Governments, and the occupation of the Black Sea bases. From Feb. 25 to March 4 Bolshevik bands attacked the approaches to Kherson, where we had only thirty rifles. The Bolsheviks numbered 10,000. Notwithstanding Hellenic reinforcements, the garrison had to evacuate Kherson. The occupation of Nicolaieff by the Allies was not to have taken place until after the evacuation of the 12,000 Germans who were there. The latter fraternized with the Bolsheviks.

At Odessa there are four French regiments with reduced effectives, three Greek regiments, and a Rumanian contingent. Reinforcements are being sent to protect the approaches to the town.

FORCES IN THE EAST

It is interesting in this connection to note the effectives of the allied armies in the east. They are:

French	.....	140,000	Italians	.....	40,000
Rumanians	..	190,000	Serbians	....	140,000
British	.....	140,000	Greeks	.....	200,000

At Odessa, [continued M. Pichon,] the situation is delicate, for it is a question of a town of 80,000 inhabitants who must be fed. These are the facts, I hide nothing. I believe that General Franchet d'Espérey has personally studied the situation in order to be able to deal with all eventualities. In the Ukraine the position is obscure and uncertain. The Bolsheviks captured Kharkoff and committed abominable acts there. The Petlura-Vinnitchenko Directory had to be dissolved. General Vinnitchenko joined General Berthelot; as regards General Petlura, we do not know exactly where he is.

After recalling that the commander of the Don Army, General Denikine, had stated that the Russian people in its conscience remained true to its Allies, M. Pichon returned to the subject of Bolshevism.

For us, [he said,] Bolshevism is not a government, it is the organization of anarchy by terror. The first act was one of treachery toward us—namely, the signing of the peace of Brest-Litovsk, which might have resulted in the downfall of France.

A DIFFICULT PROBLEM

I recognize all the seriousness of the Russian problem. It must not be underestimated. This problem is not in our eyes a purely French problem. It is an interallied problem. France cannot take it upon herself alone to achieve its solution. That depends on an understanding between the Allies, each of whom must consider the extent of its sacrifice. The

matter is being discussed at the Conference, and it is for the Conference to decide on it.

He remarked that there were other delicate questions bound up with the future of Russia—Ukrainia, Lithuania, Poland, and the Baltic question—which France could not settle by herself. For his part, he and M. Clemenceau had made the same declaration—namely, that what had to be done was to draw a sanitary cordon to bar the road to Bolshevism. There could be no question of penetrating Russia. The conference had the Russian problem before it, and this problem was becoming simplified and clarified in regard to the question of the nationalities. The Russian elements had

recognized the legitimate aspirations of the nationalities, and did not object to a federalist organization. "Herein lies," he remarked, "a valuable safeguard for the future of the Russia of tomorrow, freed from her internal reign of terror."

M. Pichon concluded by recalling the prophetic words of the Socialist Savinoff: "If the Entente countries advocate abstention [he was referring to intervention in Russia] there will certainly be one country which will have a Russian policy—namely, Germany. The day Russia awakes she will be the ally of Germany."

It is to avoid this, said M. Pichon, that they pursued in regard to Russia the policy he had just submitted to the chamber.

Why the Karolyi Government Fell

Change of Armistice Terms

A British observer just returned from Hungary wrote the following article before the receipt of the news of the proclamation of a Soviet Republic at Budapest, and it appeared in The London Times on March 24, 1919. It vividly illustrates the difficulties that were seen beforehand to be leading to the downfall of Count Karolyi.

DURING the years of war Count Karolyi had got into serious trouble owing to his outspoken condemnation of German ideals of world dominion, and it was he who first dared to utter in Parliament the fateful words, "We have lost the war!" The people, then, when they found Tisza's policy had led them to disaster, turned with a natural impulse to Karolyi. He appeared to them as the man predestined to stop the war which had proved so fatal to them, and to break with the Austro-German connection which had embroiled them in it. Within a week of his assumption of power both objects had apparently been accomplished, and Karolyi was regarded by the people as the man who had brought them peace and liberty.

But the Karolyi Government found itself faced with an almost desperate situation. If you can imagine a general demobilization of several million men taking place without any organization or directive control, you will understand something of the confusion that followed

the cessation of hostilities. And if you further remember that these undisciplined millions did not return home to a country with an organized, stable Government, but to a land composed of a conglomeration of nationalities in process of rapid political, economic, and social disruption, you will perhaps be able to realize the difficulties the "Free Hungarian Republic" had to contend with. It was essential, if disorder was not to degenerate into anarchy, that a stable Government should at once be formed, and this again demanded some sort of basic agreement with the forces of the Entente. Count Karolyi's first concern, then, was to conclude an armistice with General Franchet d'Esperey, which he finally succeeded in doing at Belgrade on Nov. 8, 1918. It was on the basis of this armistice that he began to build up the new Hungarian Republic.

UNDERMINED BY BOLSHEVIKI

The necessity for a stable central control was the more pressing because there had already been set up in Budapest a

secret committee of Bolshevik agents, whose avowed object it was to frustrate any attempt at consolidation. Here as elsewhere the Bolshevik program aimed at carrying the revolutionary movement into the lands of the Entente. Against this program of destruction Count Karolyi advocated a policy of conciliation and rapprochement with the Entente, hoping to gain their sympathy on account of his known democratic views and their material assistance in averting the famine that threatened the country in the Spring. It seemed to him that, in the success of this policy, lay his only chance of combating the disruptive influence of the Bolshevik propaganda and of saving what was left of his country from the final calamity of the Bolshevik State. Unfortunately for his hopes in this direction, the Belgrade armistice proved a most unsubstantial support upon which to lean. It caused great dissatisfaction among our allies, the Czechs, Rumanians, and Serbs, who demanded and obtained a drastic revision of its provisions.

But it is with the effect of this revision—involving, as it did, territorial encroachments from all sides—on the political situation in Budapest that we are here concerned. It entirely frustrated the efforts of the Karolyi Government to introduce order into the prevailing chaos, since it destroyed the foundation on which these efforts were based. To build up any sort of stable Government on such a pile of ruins as the former Hapsburg monarchy now presents would be no light task at any time, but it becomes an impossibility when the ruins are being perpetually shifted about. Moreover, it rendered the economic situation in Hungary almost desperate in that it deprived the country of the large supplies stored in the districts evacuated. Finally, it greatly strengthened the hands of the Bolshevik elements who were working to stir up ill-feeling against the Entente.

CONDITIONS OF ANARCHY

The Government had no means of maintaining its authority, and chose the course of doing nothing—for there was no army to speak of, and the police were not to be trusted. But a policy of laissez-faire is a dangerous expedient in a country on the verge of starvation, with an active body of Bolshevik secret agents best on completing the process of political and social disintegration resulting from the collapse of the old monarchy. There is a steady drift toward anarchy. In the economic sphere conditions of anarchy actually prevail. In all the large factories the workmen have turned out the Directors and appropriated everything to themselves. But they do not work them. To begin with, there is no coal to be obtained, and in any case it is simpler to qualify for the Government subsidy to the unemployed by ceasing whatever work one may be engaged on. In the sphere of politics, Count Karolyi's elevation to the Presidency of the republic was an ominous sign. The extremists had never concealed their intention of discarding him when they felt sure enough of their position. His elevation to the Presidency was evidently a compromise, as it rid the political machine of his immediate control while retaining temporarily his good offices as a diplomatic asset.

For the rest it is a picture of increasing disorder; of robberies, street assaults, continual strikes, and revolts. The conditions are represented as far worse than any during the war, the bread, for example, now being made entirely from maize flour. The last letter which reached the writer described the situation as rapidly reaching a climax, and mentioned that it was unsafe for any one to leave the house after dark. Hungary seems to be as far as ever from the end of her troubles.

The Second Revolution in Hungary

Fall of Count Karolyi's Government and Rise of a Soviet Regime Dominated by Bela Kun

[PERIOD ENDED APRIL 12, 1919]

THE Provisional Government of the Hungarian Republic, of which Count Karolyi was President, was overturned on Friday, March 21, 1919, by the Communist revolutionary element at Budapest under Russian Bolshevik leadership. President Karolyi handed over the reins of power to the Soviet leaders without a struggle, ascribing his act to the Allies' treatment of Hungary after the armistice. The resignation of the Hungarian Government came after the French authorities then in Hungary had directed the Hungarian Government to withdraw its army forces to the Szegedin-Debreczen boundary, the Rumanians to hold the Aradszat-Marnelement line and the French to occupy the territory in dispute.

Count Karolyi had preached the doctrine of Hungarian independence for years before the war. Shortly before the great conflict began he made a trip through the United States to enlist the support of men of Hungarian birth and descent in favor of political independence for Hungary. Then came the war and the Austrian débâcle. The prostration of Austria-Hungary before Italy produced such disorganization in the Government of Budapest that the Hapsburg authority melted away in Hungary as well as in Austria. Command of the soldiers and control of the Government officers fell naturally into the hands of Karolyi, the most prominent and ardent defender of the principle of independence. The first revolution in Budapest occurred on Oct. 31, 1918, and the power of the new republic was definitely established by the dawn of the next day.

Both the bloodlessness and swiftness of the revolution which put Karolyi into power were explained by the fact that the National Council, originally a society in which the Karolyi party, the

Social Democrats, the bourgeoisie, and the radicals had organically united for common action, had developed through the peculiar course of events into the only organized power of the State; and the adherence of the military garrison of the city to the program of the National Council at the crucial moment turned the scales for revolution.

Count Karolyi headed the Government as Premier until Nov. 16, when a republic was officially declared, with Karolyi as President. Various dispatches subsequently received from the Rumanian capital told of the difficulties of the new republic. In November Hungary signed the contract with General Franchet d'Esperey fixing the conditions of the armistice and the line of demarkation, beyond which no belligerent army was to advance. Despite this agreement, the Rumanians and Serbs, the Hungarians declared, advanced considerably, while the Czechs occupied Slovakia and both parts of the Danube district. By this dismemberment Hungary lost the Banat region, which was her food storehouse, and the northern coal mines, which enabled her industries to live.

ELEMENTS OF INSTABILITY

By the middle of January political chaos and the hunger of the populace had created the menace of Bolshevism, and had produced a critical situation throughout the country. A month later a Communist revolt broke out with such violence that the Karolyi Government was forced to declare martial law and use troops to retake parts of the city under control of the rebels. The leader of this uprising, Bela Kun, was at this time falsely reported to have been lynched by the people of Budapest.

The firmness and swift action of Karolyi balked the plans of the revolutionists—for the moment—but the sup-

pressed agitation went on subterraneously, and steadily gained new power. To this agitation, combined with the seriousness of food conditions in Budapest and throughout Hungary generally, was added a new factor, which proved to be the immediate reef on which the Government of Karolyi was wrecked—the Hungarian protest against the boundaries set by the Allies between Hungary and her neighbors, Rumania, Serbia, and Czechoslovakia, and the announced intention of the Allies to subject Hungary to military occupation.

PROTEST ON ARMISTICE TERMS

As early as Feb. 22, 1919, the Karolyi Government protested against the terms of the armistice, so far as they affected Hungary, in a long note addressed to Lieut. Col. Vix, head of the allied mission at Budapest. Its main issues may be summarized as follows:

Railway and food administration had remained with the civil authorities in Hungary during the war, and had not passed into the hands of the military. The allied proposal to deliver certain parts of the railway system into the possession of the Allies was contrary to the explicit provisions of the terms of the armistice. Yet the Hungarian Government affirmed its desire to accomplish faithfully the duties imposed upon it, and declared itself ready to submit to a control of the railway administration through the intermediary of the interallied commissions. The same disposition applied to the question of food supply, which, similarly, had never been administered by the military; all controversy, moreover, should be eliminated by Article 15 of the Belgrade armistice, which decreed clearly that an allied representative should be attached to the Hungarian Food Commissioner in order to safeguard the interests of the Allies. As to military occupation in general, the protest expressed itself as follows:

The Hungarian Government cannot refrain from declaring again that military occupation can have no other object than to assure the military superiority of the occupiers, but that the armistice treaty could in no way serve as basis for the application of measures tending to the dissolution of the economic and political

unity of the country. Military occupation is but a transitory condition and should not be applied to transform by force the occupation into a veritable annexation.

FALL OF KAROLYI GOVERNMENT

Thus, with the power of the Extremists growing, with the Hungarian Government finding no solution of the boundary disputes, and with allied military occupation an accomplished fact, only the pressure of new events was needed to precipitate a crisis. A combination of such events occurred. The first of these was an order issued by the Allies that the Hungarians withdraw to the Rumanian boundary fixed by the Rumanian treaty of 1916. Again, on March 22, came the announcement that allied troops had occupied the greater part of Hungary, with the exception of Budapest and the surrounding districts, in order to suppress plundering bands of Bolsheviks. On the same day the world was startled by learning that Karolyi had surrendered the reins of power to the Bolsheviks and that Hungary, like Russia, had undergone a second and more radical revolution.

Vienna dispatches declared that it was the establishment of the neutral zone on the Hungarian-Rumanian frontier, decided upon by the Peace Conference, which had precipitated the crisis. This zone was intended to make the Hungarians desist from attacking the Rumanians and to close the gap between Rumania and Poland. The Entente note defining this zone was dated March 19. The zone was fixed as a belt 140 miles long and forty miles wide, virtually shutting Hungary behind the Rivers Theiss, Szamos, and Maros, and including the towns of Grosswardein, Debreczen, and the entire country behind. The note required the withdrawal of the Hungarian troops behind the western boundary of the belt within ten days and authorized the Rumanians to advance to the eastern boundary. The civil government of the neutral zone was to be exercised by Hungarians, under allied control, but the important points would be occupied by allied troops.

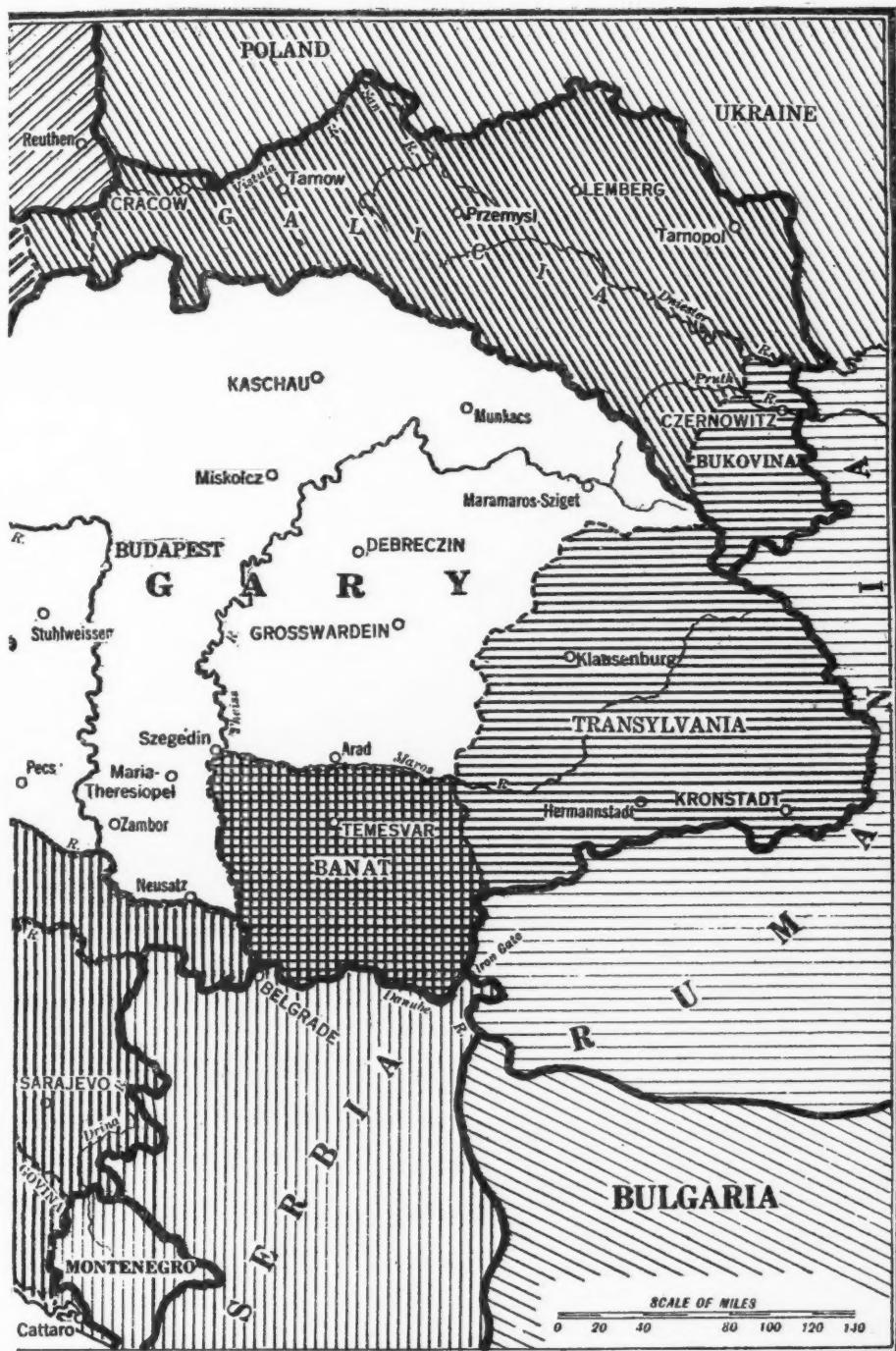
Judged in the light of Karolyi's farewell manifesto, all three of the causes described were contributory. It was

NEW CENTRAL EUROPEAN STATES



AUSTRIA AND HUNGARY IN THEIR REDUCED FORM ARE REPRESENTED BY THE WHITE SECTION, AND THE SHADDED PORTIONS INSIDE OF THE OUTER BLACK LINE ARE CLAIMED BY OTHER STATES. BOHEMIA, MORAVIA, AND AUSTRIAN SILESIA GO TO CZECHOSLOVAKIA. THE TRENTINO AND POSSIBLY THE TYROL MAY BE ASSIGNED TO ITALY, ALONG WITH ISTRIA.

CARVED FROM AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.



DALMATIA AND FIUME ARE IN DISPUTE BETWEEN THE ITALIANS AND JUGOSLAVS. CROATIA, BOSNIA, HERZEGOVINA, AND SLAVONIA BELONG TO THE JUGOSLAVS. THE BANAT IS IN DISPUTE BETWEEN THE JUGOSLAVS AND RUMANIANS. TRANSYLVANIA AND THE BUKOWINA GO TO RUMANIA. GALICIA IS IN DISPUTE BETWEEN THE POLES AND UKRAINIANS.

stated, however, by a Vienna dispatch that the Communists of Hungary had long been the real masters of the country, and had only been awaiting an opportunity to get rid of Count Karolyi, who was never considered to have been more than a figurehead. A similar view was expressed by the Berlin *Vossische Zeitung*, which said that the situation in Hungary was hopeless before the Entente note was delivered.

Mass demonstrations began the revolution. Demands were made that every unemployed person receive a sum of 500 crowns for relief, besides payment for house rent and a reduction of food prices by one-half. The actual explosion was imminent when the Entente note defining the neutral zone arrived, and Count Karolyi decided to withdraw from the Government.

Karolyi turned the Government over to a Socialist-Communist Cabinet and issued the following manifesto appealing to the proletariat of the world for support:

The Entente Mission declared that it intended to regard the demarkation line as the political frontier. The aim of further occupation of the country is manifestly to make Hungary the jumping-off ground and the region of operations against the Russian Soviet army which is fighting on our frontier. The land evacuated by us, however, is to be the pay of the Czech troops, by means of whom the Russian Soviet army is to be overcome. As Provisional President of the Hungarian People's Republic, I turn, as against the Paris Peace Conference, to the proletariat of the world for justice and support.

THE REVOLUTIONARY PERSONNEL

The revolutionary Government of Workers', Peasants', and Soldiers' Councils, to which Karolyi delivered the Hungarian rule, consisted of Alexander Gorbai, a workman, as Premier; Bela Kun, a former associate of Lenin and Trotsky, as Minister of Foreign Affairs; Joseph Pogany, a soldier and former President of the Soldatenrat, as Minister of War, and Herr Boehm, a former Cabinet Minister, who had become a radical, as Minister of Social Affairs. The dominating spirit of the group was Bela Kun, a former instructor in the law school of the Francis Joseph University at Klau-

senburg, Transylvania, and an associate of Lenin in Russia, where he had been a prisoner during the war. Other leaders of the Communist movement were said to be Major Georgy, a grandson of the 1848 revolutionary Georgy; Major Geizy, also a member of an old Hungarian family, who had embraced Bolshevism while a prisoner in Russia; George Ranassy, who had been arrested in February, charged with bringing 30,000,000 rubles into Hungary to raise a Communist army; Alexis Bolgar, who formerly published a Hungarian Socialist paper in New York, and Dr. Rakovsky, a former German agent.

The following view of the revolution and its personnel was given by Dr. Constantine Brown, a British correspondent, who had just returned from investigating conditions in Hungary and other East European countries, and who wrote on April 9:

What has happened is that, despairing of finding any other remedy, Karolyi turned Bolshevik in the hope of preserving his country intact. He connived at revolution, while to the outward Entente world he professed himself powerless to resist it. In Bela Kun, the present Foreign Commissary of the Hungarian Soviet Republic, and in Dr. Rakovsky, the renegade Rumanian and one-time German agent, he found two admirable accomplices. These are the two men with whom General Smuts discussed the basis of agreement in Budapest.

Bela Kun is a man of education and a certain culture, and among the zealots who profess the anarchistic creed of Lenin and Trotsky would be classed as a moderate. His political outlook at present does not take him beyond the confines of Hungary. He proclaims that at present, as far as he is personally concerned, the rest of the world may be well content if he achieves by his own peculiar methods the complete political and social liberation of Hungary.

Rakovsky, on the other hand, dreams of and works for the complete Soviet subjugation of Southeastern and Western Europe. He is pledged to carry the banner of Bolshevism in triumph from the Transylvanian Alps to the Danube Delta, and from Budapest to Paris. Rakovsky was always a noted political firebrand and is unquestionably a whole-hogger. Born a Bulgarian, he became violently anti-Bulgarian when Bulgaria was beaten in the Balkan war and his native town passed under the Rumanian flag.

Arrested as a German spy, he was rescued from prison in Rumania by Russian revolutionary soldiers. Then he engineered the plot for removing the Rumanian King and his consort. It failed, so Rakovsky slipped over the Rumanian frontier and became Bolshevik High Commissioner at Odessa, and the Russian Soviet Government afterward appointed him its Minister to Hungary.

COMMUNIST PROCLAMATIONS

The new Government issued the following proclamation on March 22:

The proletariat of Hungary from today has taken all power in its own hands. By the decision of the Paris Conference to occupy Hungary, the provisioning of revolutionary Hungary becomes utterly impossible. Under these circumstances the sole means open for the Hungarian Government is a dictatorship of the proletariat.

Legislative, executive, and judicial authority will be exercised by a dictatorship of the Workers', Peasants', and Soldiers' Councils. The Revolutionary Government Council will begin forthwith work for the realization of Communist Socialism.

The council decrees the socialization of large estates, mines, big industries, banks, and transport lines, declares complete solidarity with the Russian Soviet Government, and offers to contract an armed alliance with the proletariat of Russia.

A further proclamation, sent out by the new Government by wireless, invited the workmen and peasants of Bohemia, Rumania, Serbia, and Croatia to form an armed alliance against the aristocracy, landowners, and dynasties, and urged the workmen of Austria and Germany to follow the lead of Hungary in breaking off relations with the Paris Peace Conference; it called upon them to rally with the Moscow Government and constitute a Soviet republic, and to resist, arms in hand, the imperialist conquerors. The proclamation further said that the Government would organize an army to enforce the proletariat's dictates against Hungarian landowners and capitalists, the Rumanian aristocracy and the Czech bourgeois; it ended by declaring that it was necessary to wage war to free foodstuffs and mines and by urging each peasant or workman to work, in order to produce, or to enlist in the new Hungarian Army.

Greetings were sent to Lenin as

"Leader of the International Proletariat." In greeting the Russian proletariat, the new Hungarian Government expressed solidarity with the revolutionary movement. In his reply Lenin stated that he had submitted the Hungarian greeting to the Bolshevik Congress at Moscow, which had received it with great enthusiasm.

NEW GOVERNMENT'S MEASURES

The first act of the new Government was to take possession of the offices of the Correspondence Bureau, the official news agency, in order to control all further news. The Communist leaders in the February agitation were released on March 21. Vienna and Budapest dispatches indicated that public order continued undisturbed and that all public services were operating. No opposition was shown the new Government on its assumption of office, and the Workers' Councils in the provinces had taken over power everywhere unmolested. Budapest banks were under strict control, and the only money allowed to be paid out was for wages or small living expenses on private accounts. The newspapers, at first interrupted by a strike, soon resumed; there was no censorship; all official statements were published prominently.

The Soviet-Government occupied all theatres and music halls in the interests of revolutionary propaganda. A Berlin dispatch stated that a Soldiers' and Workmen's Council for entire Hungary had been appointed, and that it had started preparation for industrial socialization.

Commissioners for the City of Budapest had been appointed; officers of the municipality had tendered their resignations, but had been asked to remain at their posts. Financial Commissioner Varga had notified bank Directors that reliable bank employees would take up the direction of affairs. The Hungarian Commission for Military Affairs, according to advices from Budapest, had issued an order instructing all soldiers to rejoin their units without delay, adding:

If the soldiers do not do their duty, the Hungarian Soviet Government is doomed. The Revolutionary Government requires

armed discipline, and it will create an army well equipped and disciplined.

Martial law was proclaimed. A fine of 5,000 crowns was fixed for the sale of alcoholic liquor and 10,000 crowns for drinking it. It was decided to abolish all titles of rank, to separate the Church from the State, to dismiss all commissioners of the Karolyi Government and to invite Workmen's Councils to select directorates of four members each to replace them.

The Council ordered the People's Commissioners to take over all homes, businesses, and art treasures in private hands. In the provinces it was reported that peace and order were prevailing, the Socialists having taken over the administration in most of the large towns. The food supply, according to a wireless received in London on March 27, was said to be adequate. Security for life and property had been guaranteed by public decree and the proclamation of martial law. Illegitimate children had been given equal rights with those born in wedlock, and marriage had been made a civil ceremony. The life and property of all foreigners in Hungary were safeguarded by guarantees. All industrial enterprises employing more than twenty workmen had been placed under the control of the workers themselves, under the management of commissaries appointed by the Ministry of Social Production.

COURTS ESTABLISHED

The Government edict establishing revolutionary courts said that each must consist of a President and two members, while the prosecutor would be appointed by the Government. It was provided that the death sentence must be by a unanimous decision of the court. No appeals or requests for mercy would be permitted, and execution of the death sentence must be carried out immediately. Concerning the creation of the new Hungarian army, it was announced on March 27 that the Government had begun reorganization of a revolutionary army to be recruited from the organized proletariat and the soldiers and workmen already mobilized. The chief of this army, it was stated, was the adviser of

the revolutionary Government, but control of the conduct and organization of the army would be in the hands of the People's Commissary for Military Affairs.

Dispatches received from Budapest on April 1 indicated that the city was orderly and that the Government was trying to stabilize conditions. Bela Kun was receiving many official telegrams daily, including messages from Lenin. Dispatches of newspaper men were censored. The Foreign Minister denied emphatically charges of Hungarian communization of women; also of assassinations and disorders. Reports from the Peace Conference delegate at Budapest confirmed the claim of good order; in these it was stated that the authorities were striving to impress upon the foreign representatives that the Government would not sanction the methods of terrorism of the Bolsheviks. Three leading members of the new Cabinet—Alexander Gorbai, the President; Herr Boehm, Commissioner of Social Affairs, and Minister of Education Kiunfi—were considered to be of a conservative tendency, men who preferred to deal with the Entente rather than with Lenin's Soviet Government. Communism in Hungary, it was declared, was aimed against the aristocrats and the capitalists, not against the middle class. Doctors, bank Directors, and skilled laborers had been put in the first class of citizens entitled to consideration. The Government, it was said, seemed more concerned with freedom of intercourse than with the question of boundaries, on which the Karolyi régime had split.

ATTITUDE OF NATIONS

It was reported on March 27 that the new Hungarian Government had declared war against Serbia and surrounding countries, and that it had opened its frontier toward Russia. The Rumanian and Czechoslovak Governments, it was stated, had taken military measures against the new régime, and two Rumanian army corps were said to have crossed the frontier of Eastern Galicia. The Polish Government had adopted a resolution that the nearer advent of Bolshevism should be combated with all available force.

On March 29 Bela Kun announced that Hungarian relations with the Entente Governments would depend on the Entente attitude; if it should be hostile, Hungary would have to defend her interests; otherwise there was no reason why relations should not be friendly. Diplomatic relations between Hungary and Austria were resumed with the sending of Alexis Bolgar, a member of the Hungarian Communist Party and editor of one of its chief papers, to Vienna as Hungarian Ambassador; his embassy was accepted, and he was granted an interview with Herr Seitz, President of the German National Assembly, on March 27.

Bela Kun stated that Hungary would recognize no economic frontiers against other nations, neither against France, Germany, nor Russia. On April 2 it was announced that Bela Kun was ready to recognize the armistice of November, 1918, and that Hungary did not consider that it had broken off relations with the Entente, and desired to maintain them. The French, British, and Serbian missions to Hungary, it appeared, had been neither imprisoned nor interned, as previously charged; they had left Budapest, and reached Belgrade by April 2. French and Italian troops had been sent to their own frontiers. The British commandant was still in Budapest, awaiting the arrival of some vessel up the Danube to take away British subjects and allied or neutral persons desiring to leave.

It was reported on April 1 that Entente troops were being landed at Constanza, on the Black Sea coast, on their way to Hungary. The allied squadron on the Danube, which had gone to bombard Budapest on March 25, had been repulsed after a short fight with Hungarian shore batteries.

MISSION OF GENERAL SMUTS

The Entente Powers in session at Paris decided to send General Jan Christian Smuts to Budapest with power to negotiate a new armistice and to reach an understanding, if possible, with the new Hungarian Government. General Smuts left Paris on April 2 after a consultation with the Council of Four, and on April 4 placed the following proposals

before the Hungarian Soviet Government:

The Hungarian Government to withdraw all troops west of a line which General Smuts outlined; that Rumanian troops be ordered not to advance beyond their present positions, and that the territory between the line drawn by General Smuts and the Rumanian Army be neutral and be occupied by British, French, Italian, and, if possible, American troops.

That the Hungarian Government accept the terms of the military convention concluded last Nov. 13 by Hungary with the allied powers; that the aforementioned line of demarcation had no influence on the territorial arrangements in the final peace conditions, and that General Smuts would propose to the Peace Conference to raise the blockade of Hungary immediately and allow facilities for the immediate import of prime necessities, especially fats and coal.

General Smuts also suggested that he would propose to the Peace Conference that before it finally determined the political frontiers of Hungary it should invite the Hungarian Government to send representatives to Paris. These representatives would formulate their standpoint on the frontiers and the questions arising from them in a special conference with representatives of the Czechoslovaks, Yugoslavs, Rumanians, and German-Austrians. A representative of the allied powers would be Chairman of the special conference.

HUNGARIANS REJECT OFFER

The Government replied to General Smuts, thanking him for his civility, but declaring that the conditions presented were unacceptable, except as an order to those who might be inclined to assume the Government of the country on such terms.

But, [the Government's reply added,] relying on the good will displayed in such an unaccustomed manner by you, we beg you to interpret the following proposals to the Entente powers:

First, the Soviet Government also is disposed to create a neutral zone, but solely on the condition that the frontier thereof is shifted eastward to the Maros line, and that the Soviet Republic shall administer without interference in the territory occupied by the allied troops, thus allowing the Soviet Republic to be re-established in Szegedin and Arad. There shall be free intercourse from the neutral zone, both in the direction of

Hungary and Rumania, and free transit in the Transylvania territory occupied by Rumania.

Second, at the same time we request the complete raising of the blockade and the supplying of the republic with coal and fats.

Third, we request that the proposed conference should include representatives of the Hungarian Soviet Republic, Bohemia, Rumania, Serbia, Jugoslavia, and German Austria and that it meet at the earliest moment possible at Prague or Vienna, so as to proceed simultaneously with the Peace Conference.

Fourth, we request an exchange of economic representatives between Hungary and foreign States.

Fifth, we request the Entente Powers immediately to cease the barbarous persecutions to which every labor movement in the occupied regions is subjected.

The document was signed by Premier Garbai and Foreign Minister Bela Kun. It ended the negotiations for the time, and General Smuts left for Paris by way of Prague on April 5. The next day Bela Kun made a speech, asserting that the visit of General Smuts had amounted to a diplomatic recognition of the Soviet Government. This caused resentment in Paris, and criticism of the Smuts mission.

WARNING BY DR. BENES

Dr. Benes, Foreign Minister of Czechoslovakia, in a statement made through The London Times on March 27, warned the Allies that the revolution in Hungary was a new threat of communism for the rest of the world. He said in part:

The Bolshevik revolution in Hungary must be considered as: (1) A symptom of the general "Bolshevization" of Central Europe and Germany; and (2) a combination of national with social revolution, reinforced by the political manoeuvres of certain politicians, whose plans for the war have resulted in complete failure.

The complete "Bolshevization" of Central Europe may be regarded as a real menace. At Berlin, in Saxony, and in Bavaria Spartacism is very dangerous. At Budapest Magyar Bolshevism has triumphed completely; at Vienna there is already a demand for imitation of Hungary. In my opinion Poland also will not entirely escape. Thus, bit by bit, Bohemia, the chief industrial country of Central Europe, is becoming threatened with complete isolation from Western Europe and with the loss of all chance of being revictualled by the Allies. Our working classes are numerous, and if they are not fed it is very probable that they might fall a prey to Bolshevism. That is the present situation of my country.

The national and social side of this Bolshevik movement is more interesting still. Those responsible for this war, the Germans, Austrians, and Magyars, see today what the Peace Conference is preparing, and they see that its decisions will inevitably hit those who provoked the world war. Austria-Hungary and Turkey will be broken up and their oppressed peoples will be liberated. From the financial and economic point of view the authors of the war will be obliged to repair the damage they have caused. Thus justice overtakes them.

To escape these consequences they cling to Bolshevism for salvation. They tell themselves they have nothing to lose, either from the territorial or the social point of view, because they are already ruined politically and economically. Hungary is the most striking example of this policy. Some time back Count Karolyi himself threatened the Allies that Hungary would submit to a Bolshevik régime if her territory were not left intact. Today she is executing this threat. She is blackmailing, as the Magyars have always done. It is clearly impossible to give way to this threat, more especially since tomorrow Germany will try to follow Hungary's example when she is called upon to sign the preliminary peace treaty.

Dr. Benes recommended certain measures for meeting this grave problem, beginning with the isolation of Hungary and ending with the withholding of food supplies from all Bolshevik territories.



Events in German Austria

Emperor Charles, Last of the Hapsburgs, Officially Deposed and Exiled to Switzerland

[PERIOD ENDED APRIL 15, 1918]

THE trend of events in German Austria during the month under review showed a visible development of socialistic tendencies. These tendencies were seen in various directions; in the success of the Social Democrats at the polls; in the steps taken by the new Government in the direction of socialization of industry; in the principles laid down to govern both exterior and internal policy, including a scheme for co-operation between the productive workers of town and country, and in the German-Austrian subscription to the League of Nations theory of free determination of peoples, particularly as applied to the States previously a part of the old imperial fabric; they were seen notably in the resolute turning away from the Hapsburg tradition, developing an atmosphere which led to an official request that the ex-Emperor renounce forever his aspirations to the throne and take his departure from Austria.

The departure of ex-Emperor Charles from Austria and his taking up residence in Switzerland represent one of the far-reaching events of modern history. This exile of the Hapsburg-Lothringens, one of the oldest imperial houses in Europe, which had ruled for over a thousand years, was an occurrence pregnant with significance, brought out into sharp relief by the abolishment of all the rights and privileges of the royal family in perpetuity, allied to a decree of eternal banishment.

The trend of the new German-Austrian Republic was toward Socialism, but not toward Bolshevism. Even the Bolshevik envoys of the new Soviet Republic in Hungary—despite the desperate food conditions prevailing in German Austria—did not succeed in Bolshevikizing the Austrian Government, and the national democratic, socializing tendency

was seen again in the action of the Soldiers' and Workmen's Councils in Vienna, which decided against the establishment of a Soviet Government, and in favor of a Socialist Republic chronicled herewith.

RESULTS OF ELECTIONS

Definite figures from Vienna showed the results of the elections held on Feb. 16 to be as follows:

Of the total vote of about 3,000,000 cast on Feb. 16 for the delegates to the Austrian Constituent Assembly, 1,210,000 went to the Socialist Party, 1,039,300 to the Christian Socialist Party, 593,000 to the various groups of German Nationalists, while the balance was divided among the pro-Bavarian, Czechoslovak and Jewish National groups, according to data printed in the Vienna Arbeiter-Zeitung of Feb. 23. In the Reichsrat elections of 1911 the Socialists received 307,156, the Christian Socialists (Clericals and anti-Semites) 538,635, and the other parties about 185,000 votes.

The National Defense, or Volkswehr, which represents a portion of the old army, organized great demonstrations on Feb. 18 in Vienna in celebration of the Social Democratic success at the polls. The demonstrators, both military and civil, numbered 12,000 to 15,000 persons, and marched under the red flag to the House of Parliament to the sound of the "Marseillaise." At the Parliament speeches were made by a number of prominent Social Democrats, including President Seitz. The result of the elections, declared Herr Seitz, showed that the mass of the people desired union with Germany and was in favor of Socialism. Dr. Deutsch, the Under-Secretary of State for War, declared that Emperor Charles must be compelled formally and finally to abdicate. The immediate aim of the people at the beginning of their work for a Socialist Republic was the socialization of industry and rural economy.

The new German-Austrian Govern-

ment, as reported from Vienna on March 16, included Dr. Renner as Chancellor, Herr Jodofink as Vice Chancellor, Herr Schumpeter as Minister of Finance, Dr. Julius as Minister of War, and Otto Bauer as Minister of Socialization; the latter also continued his functions as Minister of Foreign Affairs.

On March 18 the Chancellor made an official statement, which may be summarized as follows:

Concerning foreign relations, the Austrian policy would be based on the spirit of conciliation underlying President Wilson's projected League of Nations. The rights of Austrian subjects in occupied territory would be maintained. No hostility against the States that previously formed a part of the old monarchy would be shown, and no hostile act committed; free communication with all would be established. Reunion with Germany would be energetically pursued. Referring to matters of internal policy, the Chancellor declared for a free constitution and co-operation between the productive workers of town and country.

Among the early measures approved by the new Government were State socialization, the abolition of capital punishment, except under martial law, and the liberation of all Russian and Finnish prisoners of war, including interned aliens.

A symposium of the views of Austrian statesmen published in the *Petit Parisien* on March 28 showed that union with Germany was believed to be indispensable. Dr. Renner, the new Chancellor, considered this union to be practically completed. Count Czernin, former Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister, however, thought the Austrian situation must remain undetermined until the peace negotiations were completed; he then favored a referendum on the fate of Austria.

FORMER EMPEROR'S DEPARTURE

Dispatches of March 22 reported that the Vienna Government had again notified ex-Emperor Charles to leave the country. His intention to maintain a court at Eckartsau was declared to be contrary to the new Constitution adopted by the National Assembly. On March

23 Charles of Hapsburg left Austria with his family to take up his residence in Switzerland, in the Château of Wartegg, at Staad, (near Rohrschach, on Lake Constance.) This old château is the property of the Duke of Parma. The exiled Hapsburgs arrived here on March 24, and a correspondent wrote on the 26th:

The ex-Emperor Karl apparently passed the first day of his exile in Switzerland in the bosom of his family. At nine yesterday morning the ex-Emperor, availing himself of the beautiful weather, with the Empress Zita and their children, took a walk in the park of the ancient Castle Wartegg, afterwards receiving several visitors, among whom was Count Berchtold, who came to Wartegg with the Hereditary Archduke after a few weeks' sojourn at Lucerne. Yesterday, during conversation at Buchs Station with the Swiss officials, the ex-Emperor instructed them to present his homage to the President of the Confederation and express his thanks to him.

At the frontier the ex-Emperor and his suite received the ordinary food, the extras allowed for the use of invalids being only accorded to the aged Archduchess Maria Josephine, mother of the Empress Zita. A certain sensation was caused owing to the Emperor wearing General's uniform with decorations. The Empress appeared to be greatly fatigued by the effects of the journey and her emotion. Among those who formed the suite was Count Czernin.

A Zurich journal comments: "Charles was received as a private gentleman." The paper adds that Switzerland concedes the right of exile to whosoever adheres to her laws, and reminds Charles that the Confederation's sole desire is to live in peace and accord with her neighboring States. Furthermore, it adds, on traversing the frontier the Imperial Court vanishes, and Charles should entomb in the archives of the ancient Castle of Wartegg his uniforms and sparkling decorations.

LEFT VIENNA SECRETLY

Vienna newspapers declared that the former Emperor had left Austria without making the renunciation of the throne for himself and his family, which had been demanded, and to which he had implicitly agreed on Nov. 11. According to the Reichspost, four Archdukes of German Austria had made such a renunciation, asking the rights only of ordinary citizens. The former Emperor had left Vienna secretly under

British protection; the city heard of his departure only on the following day. A long communiqué was issued by the Government, which declared that it had been misled by Colonel Strutt, under whose escort, with British soldiers, the ex-Emperor journeyed to Switzerland. Colonel Strutt had asked for a State train for the conveyance of himself and several members of the Interallied Mission, including ladies, proceeding to Switzerland on duty. Consequently the Government thought that the train was for representatives of the Entente until it heard at 6 o'clock in the evening that the ex-Emperor and his family would leave one hour later. The communiqué concluded that the responsibility of the ex-Emperor's departure must, therefore, be attributed wholly to the British Government.

DECREE OF BANISHMENT

A bill introduced in Parliament on March 27 dealt with the former reigning house. This bill abolished all the rights and privileges of the House of Hapsburg-Lothringen in perpetuity, banished all members of this house, as well as the House of Bourbon-Parma, the family of former Empress Zita, and seized, in the name of the German-Austrian Republic, all the real and personal estate of the former imperial house; it decreed, however, that the private fortune and property of ex-Emperor Charles should remain untouched. On April 5 it was announced from Paris that protests against the law providing for the confiscation of the property of the Hapsburg family had been made by former States of the empire, which demanded an equitable distribution.

It was reported from Vienna on March 28 that the news of the latest Hungarian revolution had encouraged the propaganda work of the Extremist parties, the International Social Revolutionaries, and the International Communist Party, representing the Bolshevik program. Previously this agitation had been counteracted by the efforts of the Social Democratic Party, as a whole, and by the Coalition Government, supported by most of the papers, Liberal, Clerical, and Socialist; by the middle classes and most

of the laboring people, who realized that the stock of food in the country was practically exhausted, and that Entente and American help was the only resource against impending famine.

The news of the Hungarian revolution, however, brought a sudden change in this situation. Extremist meetings were attended by great multitudes, whose attitude to Bolshevism had been visibly affected. Food conditions contributed to the discontent; official rations, it was said, were insufficient to support bare existence; there was no meat, eggs, or fat, and restaurants in Vienna would soon be compelled to close their doors. The claims of neighboring nations to districts inhabited by Germans aggravated the general feeling of unrest; the question of German Bohemia and Tyrol particularly was agitated in meetings and in the press; it was urged that the Austrians should not be subjected to the imperialist ambitions of other nations, and that Wilson's principles should be applied to Austrian, Slav, and Italian alike.

An official warning was issued in Vienna against the circulation of false rumors and the departure of wealthy persons. The feeling of unrest in Vienna, it was stated, had increased. On April 4 the American mission in Vienna stated that the Entente was ready to grant the Austrian business world long credits to enable the importation of raw material for the resumption of economic work, the loans to be effected partly by American banks to Vienna banks under the supervision of the American Government; this was held to be the best means of stemming the Bolshevik tide by lessening the excessive number of unemployed, who at tremendous expense were supported by the State.

DECISION AGAINST BOLSHEVISM

The Entente Mission on April 5 demanded that the German-Austrian Government expel the agitators sent by the new Hungarian Republic to Vienna. The Government thereupon requested Hungary to recall these men. The Hungarian representative, Alexis Bolgar, ad-

mitted to The Associated Press that Hungary had agitators in the legation who were attempting to communize Vienna. Advices reaching Washington on April 7 said that a Communist revolution in Austria seemed imminent. But on April 10 came the announcement that the Conference of Soldiers' Councils of German Austria, which met in Vienna, had decided against the establishment of a

Soviet Government in Austria, and in favor of a Socialist Government. On the same date it was reported that announcement of an increased food supply by the Entente was causing material improvement of feeling.

The proclamation of a Soviet republic in Salzburg, German Austria, near the Bavarian frontier, was announced on the same day via London.

Revolutionary Reforms in Rumania

Dividing the Large Estates

A Bucharest correspondent of the Paris Temps prepared the following important survey of Rumanian reform measures in February, 1919:

WHILE the world is in the process of reorganizing itself Rumania has silently accomplished a reform practically equivalent to a social revolution; during all her history the stronghold of the large landholding class, she will soon be a country of small land proprietors. Few precedents can be found in history of a transformation effected so completely, so pacifically, and so rapidly.

Travelers who before the war passed through the Rumanian plains, whose great stretches recall those of Central Russia or Argentina, know that they constituted at once the strength and the weakness of this nation, consisting of a rural population. Eighty-three per cent. of the Rumanians live in the country; thence comes the sturdiness of the people, their attachment for the deep-rooted national traditions which their small houses with whitewashed walls, their dress, their customs, such as the old and sad Hora dance, make so easily perceptible. The beauty of the race also comes from that source, a beauty so singular that when descending the Danube it is enough to see the silhouettes of the women drawing water at the banks in order to conclude as to whether one is in Rumanian territory or not.

This race of country people, however, has lived in a state of semi-economic sub-

jection. The reason for this is to be found in the history of the principalities, which, under the voivodas, formed the cradle of the small Rumania of yesterday and the large one of tomorrow. Contrary to the condition in Serbia, where the division of land was effected early, Rumania had always been a country of extensive landed possessions. Some years ago it was estimated that 1,563 proprietors possessed alone more than six million acres of land, one-half of the country. According to estimates submitted to the Rumanian Parliament in 1917 the peasants possessed only 33 per cent. of the arable land.

SAW PERIL IN TIME

The system of renting the farm land prevailed throughout the country. In the cultivation of tracts of land of more than 200 acres the proportion of rentals attained an average of about 61 per cent. of the land. The consequences are easily discernible. The large landholders formed a sort of feudal class too rich to preserve intimate connections with the soil. The Rumanian peasant, under whose sluggish exterior is often concealed a very keen spirit, maintained the distrustful attitude of the oppressed. A chasm intervened between the cosmopolitan ruling classes and the mass of sturdy, though uneducated, people under their rule.

Without doubt the Russian revolution contributed toward opening the eyes of many regarding the perils of such a con-

dition. It was in June, 1917, that the Rumanian Parliament, at the same time that it enacted universal suffrage, voted for the partition of land. However, the defeat of Rumania and the advent of the Marghiloman Cabinet, which was in favor of Germany, delayed the realization of the reform. The return of M. Bratiano to power was necessary that the promises which had been made might be kept. With the promulgation of the law of January, 1919, this was effected.

The first point worthy of attention is the radical nature of the reform. Large landholding is, without doubt, not entirely suppressed by a stroke of the pen; probably something like a little more than two million acres were excepted. The measure, however, affects a formidable proportion of the land which lends itself to cultivation. In the first place all land is appropriated which is comprised in the property of the crown, of the State treasury, and of large proprietors, public or private; under this provision, at least 600,000 acres are transferred to the peasants. Moreover, the law further appropriates arable land amounting to four million acres composed of plots taken from all private properties containing more than 200 acres of land suitable for cultivation. Not only does the total of peasant property find itself almost doubled in this manner, but the former proportion between large and small landholdings is completely reversed. The large proprietors, who but lately possessed about 70 per cent. of the fertile land, will retain scarcely 15 per cent. of it.

METHOD OF LAND TRANSFER

The appropriation and transfer of the land to the peasants, however, raised many difficult questions. The division of the land into lots and the apportionment of these lots to the peasants would necessarily have called for time. The delays incident thereto might have provoked dissatisfaction and perhaps the usual agrarian troubles. It is in making provision for this that the ingenuity of the reform stands out.

In order to give the peasants the enjoyment of their new land from the

Spring of 1919, it was decided to turn over the land without any delay to the central treasury of the association of popular banks named the Central Treasury for the operation and distribution of peasants' lands. This bank is charged with the establishment of peasant associations wherever they do not as yet exist—and it is well known that agricultural co-operation has been strongly developed in Rumania—which are to take immediate possession of the appropriated lands and place them under cultivation themselves.

This is a purely temporary measure, and one which presents no attributes of a communistic character whatsoever. District commissions, consisting of two representatives of the landholders, two representatives of the peasants, a representative of the Central Treasury, and a Justice of the Peace or a Judge, will take the necessary measures to prepare for the individual sale of the lots to the peasants. Without being compelled to await the termination of these transactions, necessarily occupying some length of time, the mechanism of the agricultural association allows the small farmers to profit by the appropriation of the land immediately upon the promulgation of the decree.

The importance of this method can readily be perceived, above all, from an economic standpoint. At present Rumania cannot afford to neglect the intensive and immediate cultivation of all her soil. But the rapidity of execution has also a moral and political importance. Peasants, whether they be Rumanian or French, recognize only tangible results. That they may believe in the sincerity of the promises made them by the legislator, they must be enabled without delay to plow those fields which yesterday belonged to the large proprietor. To have left them in doubt would have been to aid the conspiracies of the agents of Hungary and of the Ukraine, who, for various reasons, are striving to incite the Rumanian masses to that form of social chaos called Bolshevism. Not a moment was to be lost, and the Rumanians realized that in time.

The financial measures provided by the

law are equally well conceived. The proprietor whose land has been appropriated is to receive in payment a yearly income from the State equivalent to a 5 per cent. assessment on his property. Also, in order to facilitate the purchase by the peasant of his new land, the State is to contribute 35 per cent. of the price fixed at the time of the appropriation.

The results of such a reform are quickly realized. Situated immediately near a volcano in eruption, such as Russia, Rumania had no chance of preserving her national existence except by assuring

herself a firm internal basis. The social bulwarks which she will henceforth possess will recall those given Western Europe in a certain measure by the strength of France. A nation of small landholders is of necessity a rampart of European order. From her peasant masses she not only draws arms for her defense, but the physical and moral forces which are constantly revived by contact with the invigorating soil. It will be interesting to verify once more this law of history in the proportion of the development of the new Rumania.

Poland's Boundary Conflicts

Settling the Danzig Problem

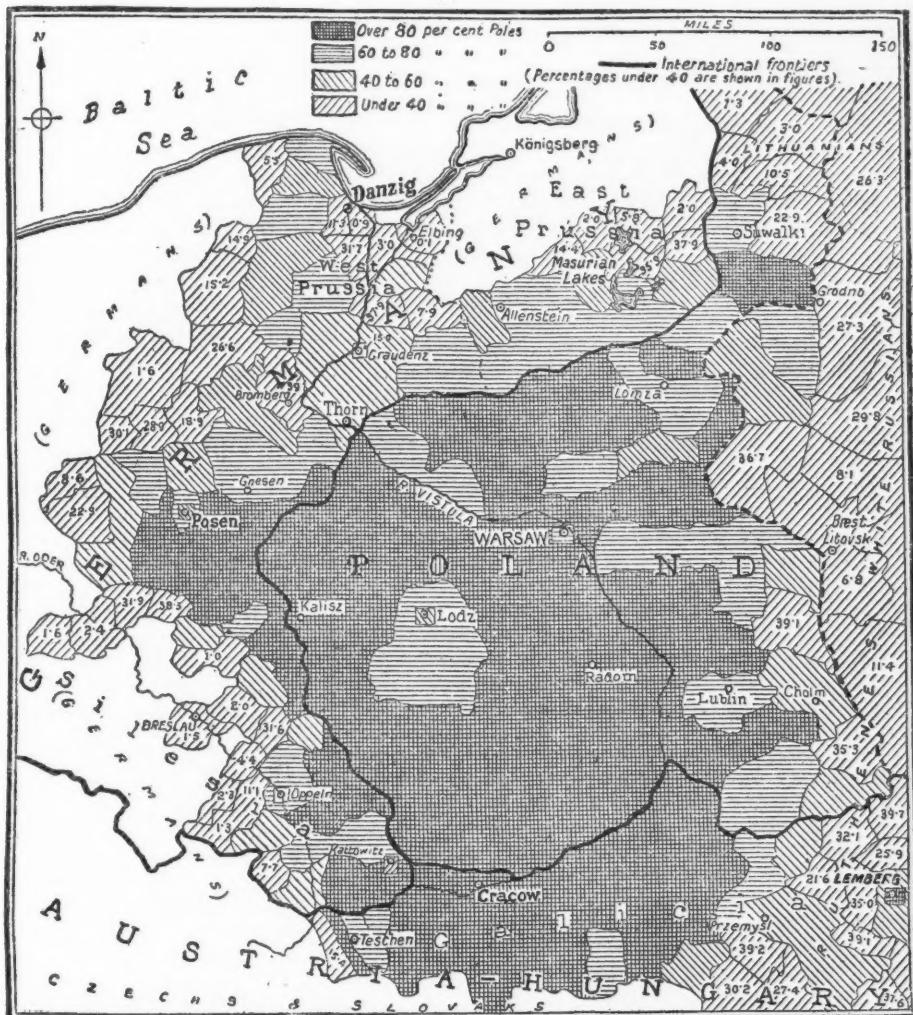
[PERIOD ENDED APRIL 12, 1919]

GERMANS, Ukrainians, and Bolsheviks continued their attacks upon Poland during March and April, compelling the new republic to defend itself on three fronts. On March 15 it was reported that German troops of Grenschütz, composed of volunteers for the defense of the frontiers, had attacked the coal mines at Dombrowa, in former Russian Poland. The Polish troops, aided by the local militia, repulsed the attackers. In Posnania the Germans bombarded continuously the towns of Nowa, Kruszyña, and Ostrowek; all German attacks on this front were similarly repulsed.

The negotiations between the Poles and the Germans, which had been broken off at Posen, became the subject of considerable comment, and supplementary details threw new light on the reasons for this new rupture. The immediate cause, according to The London Daily Mail, was the German refusal to accede to the allied demand for the withdrawal of artillery in the region between Danzig and Thorn.

Opposition came especially from the military members of the German delegation, who, from the first day, had clashed with the President of the Conference, Herr von Reichenberg. This lack of harmony was said to reflect a similar

lack of agreement between the German Government and the High Command. General Dommes, according to this account, then went to Berlin, and Herr von Reichenberg followed him, after receiving a definite request from M. Noulens that the entire German delegation should be back in Posen within three days to complete the negotiations. According to a Havas dispatch from Posen, however, the negotiations had been definitely broken off, and the entire German delegation was quitting Posen immediately. This was confirmed by the publication of a semi-official German note of March 21, which stated that it had been impossible to reach an agreement. The reason assigned for this failure, however, was the dispute that had arisen over the Presidency of the conference, the Germans desiring the appointment of the President by Pope Benedict, while the Entente nations wished the President to be named by the permanent Inter-allied Armistice Commission. Another German statement declared that the bone of contention was the personnel of the commission to carry out the agreement, which, according to the allied plan, would have given the Allies a majority on the commission. This statement added: "The rupture is no loss to German interests, because the Entente military pro-



MAP SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF POLES IN POLAND, INCLUDING THE DANZIG DISTRICT, CLAIMED BY BOTH POLES AND GERMANS. WHERE THE POLISH POPULATION IS LESS THAN 40 PER CENT. THE ACTUAL FIGURES ARE STATED. THE SHADING INDICATES OTHER PERCENTAGES

posals likewise do not satisfy the German claims."

THE DANZIG DISPUTE

M. Cambon, head of the Conference Commission on Polish Affairs, laid his report before the Peace Conference on March 19. Decisions made by the conference had, however, already reached Warsaw, where Polish newspapers on March 18 expressed approval especially of the agreements concerning the new boundary between Germany and Poland

and the corridor of Danzig. They questioned only a decision concerning a referendum in the Allenstein district, and pointed out that the Prussian census of 1911 showed a Polish majority there. The development of the Danzig question, on the other hand, was regarded in both Berlin and Weimar as bringing about a crisis of very serious gravity.

On March 28 General Nudant, representing Marshal Foch, submitted a note to the German Government, demanding a passage through Danzig for the Polish

divisions under General Haller, which were a part of the allied army, and permission for their further march to Poland to maintain order. The note added that any refusal would be regarded as a breach of the armistice.

The German Government, after exhaustive deliberations of the party leaders, replied that by the armistice terms it was bound only to grant free access to the Vistula to maintain order in territories of the former Russian Empire; furthermore, its standpoint in signing had been that there could be no question of Polish troops. The note thereupon referred to the demonstrations caused by Paderewski's journey and his statement in Danzig that "if the Polish divisions from France and Italy should be in Danzig, then Danzig and all West Prussia would be Polish." In conclusion the German reply asked for detailed information concerning the composition and strength of General Haller's army, the date of its landing and transit to Poland, and what guarantees could be offered that this army would not provoke Polish demonstrations or an insurrection of the Polish minority. A counterproposal for a landing at Stettin, Königsberg, Memel, or Libau was made. The German press as a whole approved the German answer.

To settle the dispute Marshal Foch left Paris for Spa on April 1 to meet Mathias Erzberger, and discuss with him the allied demand; he bore with him full power to bring the matter to a final decision. This conference took place at Spa on April 3. The result of the discussion was given by Marshal Foch in the form of a communication to the allied Governments, which stated that the allied right to land troops at Danzig had been maintained, but that in order to hasten the arrival of the Polish troops it had been decided to make use of other lines of transport proposed by the German Government. Dispatches from Spa stated that these routes would be by rail to Coblenz, Giessen, Cassel, Halle, Ellenburg, Kottbus, Lissa, and Kalisz, and by way of Stettin and Königsberg. If difficulties of any kind arose in this passage across Germany, however, Marshal Foch reserved the right to debark the men at Danzig. Marshal Foch declined to give

any guarantees regarding the future of Danzig, as such guarantees affected the Peace Conference and not the armistice.

DANZIG INTERNATIONALIZED

Mr. Paderewski, the Premier, went to Paris at the beginning of April to discuss Danzig and other issues with members of the conference. On April 6 he stated that, after consultation with Messrs. Clemenceau, Pichon, and House, he felt assured as to the agreement concluded by Marshal Foch concerning the movement of troops through Danzig. German propaganda in Poland, he added, had led the Poles to believe that the agreement represented an allied surrender on this question. The advantage of speed in getting the troops to Poland, he said, must, of course, be considered.

As to the ultimate ownership of Danzig, Mr. Paderewski declared that if Poland did not receive this port the war was lost for his country. The fact, however, that Danzig was unquestionably a German city offered a serious if not insuperable obstacle to this solution of the problem by the Peace Conference. It was stated unofficially on April 8 that arguments in favor of giving Danzig to Poland and those in favor of giving Danzig to Germany had been so evenly balanced that a compromise had been adopted, and that the coveted seaport was to be declared an international city, belonging to neither party but free to both. One correspondent in stating this decision added:

Poland is assured that under this plan the port will serve her commercial purposes as well as if it were her own, but Paderewski seemed broken-hearted when informed of the decision. He made a somewhat sensational pilgrimage to Paris for the very purpose of pleading for Danzig, but could not overcome the objections of Lloyd George, who felt that the city should remain in possession of the Germans. The Americans were equally desirous of giving it to Poland. So the internationalization is a compromise arrangement, which pleases no nation in Europe.

The considerations that governed the Peace Conference in its action on Poland's claims are indicated in the accompanying map, which shows the percentage of Polish population in the vari-

ous portions of Poland. There is a strip of semi-Polish population which extends a little to the west of Danzig to the sea. In no part is it more than 60 to 80 per cent. Polish, and the greater part of it is only 40 to 60 per cent. Polish—that is, roughly, half and half. But Danzig itself is 95 per cent. German, and the district round it and east and south of it is German in a very great majority. There was therefore no reason on the racial ground for handing over Danzig and its hinterland to Poland. The need for a Polish outlet to the sea could be met by making Danzig a free port.

POLAND AND UKRAINE

On the Galician front Lemberg and Grodek-Jagellonski were reported on March 15 to have been attacked by the Ukrainians. The Polish troops repulsed all attacks and inflicted severe losses on the enemy. Iaksmanice, Siedliska, and Bychow were occupied by the Poles. A German wireless dispatch of March 17 stated that the Ukrainians had entered Przemysl; the Ukrainians were also in the suburbs of Lemberg and along the whole Przemysl-Lemberg line. A report from Upper Silesia said that Lemberg was faced with complete destruction because of the Ukrainian bombardment; large portions of the city were in ruins or in flames. The Ukrainians were using guns of heavy calibre. In spite of the bombardment the morale of the defenders was good; even women and children were participating in the defense.

On March 19 the Supreme Council of the Peace Conference decided to invite the hostile armies at Lemberg to conclude a truce under certain conditions. A radio-telegram containing these conditions was sent to the commander of Lemberg and to the Ukrainian commander besieging the city. Each army was to maintain its positions; the railway communications between Lemberg and Przemysl were to remain free enough to allow the necessary provisioning of Lemberg. The conference expressed its willingness to hear the claims of the two parties in dispute, provided that an immediate suspension of hostilities ensued.

On March 20 it was announced from Warsaw that Ukrainian troops had entered Lemberg. No attention whatever appeared to have been paid to the Paris Peace Conference order to both Poles and Ukrainians to cease hostilities until the dispute for the territory of East Galicia could be settled by the Allies. On March 25, however, it was declared by Vaida Voievod, Minister for Transylvania in the Rumanian Cabinet, in an interview, that Lemberg was still in Polish hands. On April 2 advices from Przemysl indicated that the city was still being heavily shelled. The Poles did not accept the possibility of an armistice with the Ukrainians.

POLAND AND BOLSHEVIKI

Bolshevist detachments, it was reported on March 15, had attacked again the town of Slonim in Lithuania. After fierce combats, the Bolsheviks had penetrated into the town, but had finally been expelled by the Polish troops at the point of the bayonet. The whole Bolshevik drive in that direction had suffered a severe check in the Baltic provinces.

Pinsk, on the eastern frontier of Poland, was captured from the Bolsheviks at the beginning of March. On April 5 this city was the scene of an attempted Bolshevik uprising which resulted in the summary execution of thirty-three of those implicated in the plot. Colonel Francis E. Fronczak, Health Commissioner of Buffalo, who was in Pinsk at the time for the American Red Cross, stated that, according to the military authorities, 200 Bolsheviks were discovered in a hall plotting the overpowering of the weakened garrison and the seizure of the city. The hall was surrounded, but the majority of the Bolsheviks managed to escape. About seventy were captured and marched to the market place, where every second one was shot. Colonel Fronczak was in a hospital near by and heard the shots. Later he counted the bodies. He made an affidavit, which was turned over to the American and allied commission in Warsaw.

General Pilsudski, provisional Polish President, stated in Warsaw on March 22 that arms and equipment for an army

of 500,000 Poles were necessary. Poland had many young men who had not been drafted into the German, Austrian, and Russian armies. War material from France and America was urgently needed. With such an army, said the President, Poland could hold her own against all her foes. The prevailing opinion in Polish military circles was that the war with the Ukrainians and others must be fought out, and that only the projected conscript Polish army could break down the present impasse.

ALLIES RECOGNIZE POLAND

A French official telegram, read on Feb. 24 in the Warsaw Diet, recognized Poland as an independent, sovereign State. On March 13 it was similarly announced that Italy had sent her official recognition; and on March 19, Belgium. On March 13 a formal alliance between Poland and the Entente was concluded; on March 29 the treaty of alliance was unanimously ratified.

The Polish Government has annulled all transactions concluded in the territories of the former Ober-Ost (Lithuania and Poland) between retreating German troops and private individuals. Impor-

tant stocks of provisions, war material, and even munitions, had by these transactions fallen into the hands of speculators. The Polish Government made energetic protest at this, with the result that a mixed German-Polish commission departed to Grodno to enable the Polish authorities to gain possession of the supplies in that district.

The Polish Parliament on March 14 adopted a resolution calling for the appointment of a commission to study the Jewish problem in Poland, and find a method of solution. This resolution was introduced by Professor Stanislau Grabiski, one of the leaders of the National Democratic Party, the party of Padrewski and Dmowski, who are now in power. The appointment of the commission was considered to be the Government's reply to the embittered speech of the Jewish Deputy, Noah Prilutski, who gave expression on the floor of Parliament to the resentment and humiliation of the Jewish population of Poland, and who reproached the Government bitterly for what he alleged to be the systematic persecution of the Jews in every walk of life and in all spheres of society.

Jugoslavia and Its Internal Problems

Conflict of Parties Over the Question of a Federated Union or a Centralized Serbian State

AN interesting series of articles in the *Paris Temps*, written in January and February, 1919, by that paper's special correspondent, Charles Rivet, depicted the different political parties and tendencies in the new South Slavic State known unofficially as Jugoslavia. Some of M. Rivet's most interesting observations are here-with summarized.

Like Czechoslovakia, the South Slavic State is a product of the new political theory of national determination. Serbia, Croatia, and Slovenia were united into one nation only a few weeks after the dispersal of the Austro-Magyar

armies, by the compact concluded between Liubiana, (Laibach,) Zagreb, (Agram,) Serajevo, and Belgrade. The organization of the Jugoslav State was effected by many patriots still dressed in the uniform of the Austrian Army. Dalmatia and Bosnia were occupied by Serbian troops and received Serbian Governors. Istria and Montenegro also entered later into the completed project, with a more remote possibility of a union with Bulgaria.

Excluding the last-mentioned country, between which and Serbia, particularly, embittered memories may act as an eternal bar, the new nation represents a

population of 12,000,000, divided as follows: Serbia, 4,500,000; Croatia and Slavonia joined, 2,650,000; Bosnia and Herzegovina, 1,900,000; Slovenia, 1,600,000; Dalmatia, 650,000; Istria, 403,000, and Montenegro, 440,000, all under the centralized administration of Serbia, whose aspiration has been steadily and consistently fixed upon a united Serbia.

These various countries represent a bewildering agglomeration of ethnographical origins, languages, religions, and customs. Leaving the others aside for present purposes, it may be of interest to summarize the facts affecting Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia, and Serbia, as affected by the Serbian Party of Centralization, and the diverging, separatist influences that lean toward a new republicanism—tendencies of revolt against Serbian centralization which are still fermenting.

CROATIA

The most important political party of Croatia before the war, and the one which has retained the lead in Parliament since 1914, is the party of the "Croato-Serb Coalition." The main program of this party, says M. Rivet, was "Jugoslav liberty and union." It rallied the young, progressive generation, those liberal Croat elements who understood that only union between the Slavs of the Dual Monarchy could counterbalance the Austrian formula, "Divide et impera." These Croats were joined by the Serbs of the empire—the floating Serbian population on the confines of the Croatian provinces—many of them refugees from Turkish despotism, who came in greater and greater numbers with their orthodox clergy and formed veritable colonies at the frontiers of their former country.

These Serbs, who preserved the traditions of their country, different in religion, and hence inapt for assimilation, were used by the Hungarian policy as a check on the Croat movement toward independence. But the Croat and Serbian liberals came to an understanding above the heads of their masters, and from this union, arising out of the consciousness of the unity of race, arose a new political factor, the Croato-Serb coalition. To the

very end of the war this party stood out among the individualistic parties of Croatia, and a new horizon was opened before it by the idealistic principles of the Allies, the perspective of a South Slav union. It declared itself for union without restriction, for complete centralization. It was forthwith abandoned by the Slav patriots, who rejected the solution of a "Balkan gravitation." These democratic progressives, who abandoned the coalition, raised their own banner, that of Federalism; a banner hoisted at the last moment, hastily, in fear of the intentions attributed to the Old Radicals and in ignorance of those of the Allies concerning Jugoslavia, which might conceivably be offered up as a victim to the theory of Serbian compensation.

FIGHT FOR CENTRALIZATION

The leader of the coalition party at Zagreb, Svetozar Pribitchevitch, a Croatian Serb and Minister of the Interior in the Jugoslav Ministry at Belgrade, resolutely waived the possibility of a Federalistic solution; the State, he declared, must be centralized in one Government with a single legislative body. Only the Slovenes occupied a separate territory, while the Croats and Serbs were so intermingled that a line of demarcation would be almost impossible between them. The Federalists, he intimated, were mostly Austrian sympathizers.

Yet he advocated autonomy for the communes, districts, and departments; but this autonomy, he said, must not extend to the former boundary divisions, as Serbia had been replaced by the kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, so Croatia, Bosnia, Slovenia, and Dalmatia must disappear as individualities; the Austrian formula of "divide and rule" must be forever eliminated. As for the question of religion, the autonomous Orthodox churches would be united under a single Serbian Patriarch, and the relations of the Catholic churches and the State would be regulated by the Concordat. The Macedonian question, said the Minister, must be settled in favor of Serbia; the Bulgarians were more alien to the Slav population of Macedonia than the Serbs; all idea of a Balkan Federation, furthermore, in view of the Bul-

garian atrocities, must be abandoned. Similar views concerning centralization and autonomy were expressed by Dr. Schlegel, chief editor of the Agramer Tageblatt; autonomy, after departmental division, established on economic bases, must be provided for, but the old national boundaries of Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia, Serbia, and Montenegro must go. Only territories were claimed, he said, which formed a compact unit, ethnographically Slavic.

The Serbian National Radical Party and the Social Democratic Party, of minor importance as compared with the party of coalition, were both unionist in tendency.

The other side of the picture was presented by the apprehensions of the Croat commercial circles, which feared that the Belgrade centralization would suppress Croat institutions; that Zagreb would become a dead city of officialdom, that Serbia would assume the aspect of a dead weight upon the new communistic life of South Slavdom. Free, Croatia might enjoy the right of development checked by the Hungarian despotism; closely united with Serbia, this self-development might be long deferred. As Jugoslavs, the Croats desired the formation of a common State; but the different elements had received a different education; after Federalism and a common education, Centralism would establish itself logically and automatically. But at present any liberty understood in the centralizing sense, and which brought the Croats a diminution of their autonomy, could scarcely be admitted.

SLOVENIA

The Slovenes, on their part, republicans by conviction, accepted nevertheless the monarchical régime in the interests of united Jugoslavia. The Slovenes, oppressed by Vienna, yet found in her a source of Western culture. In the Slavic family the Slovenes culturally come immediately after the Czechs. Essentially democratic, they rallied nevertheless with all their parties, including the Clericals, to the slogan of Centralism at Belgrade, and demanded a monarchy ruled by the Karageorgevitch dynasty. Though more developed generally than

their co-nationals of Croatia and Serbia, they accepted this centralization, at least provisionally, in order to oppose a compact body to external dangers, waiving the advantages that might accrue to them from a confederation which would preserve their national physiognomy.

Such was the spirit of Slovenia as expressed and crystallized in their capital, Liubliana, (formerly Laibach.) Obliged to conceal their real sentiments, they followed anxiously the last convulsions of the dualist monarchy. In the cafés of Liubliana they laughed at the political blindness of Vienna, which had learned nothing from a war prolific in social lessons.

Their Provisional Government, rapidly installed, hastened to suppress all railway communications toward the north and south, so as to concentrate on Liubliana, which thus became a veritable trap. A good part of the trains brought troops and military convoys from the front. These military refugees were disarmed by a national guard hastily recruited; provisions were confiscated; about 300,000 guns were seized, 1,000 automobile trucks and munition caissons. The Governor of Trieste, Count Fries Kéné, was relieved at Liubliana of his Government funds; similarly General Boroievitch, who had fled from Marburg, was despoiled of the material stolen by him and his staff from Italy, including 170 loads of flour. A few weeks later came the Jugoslav compact; Slovenia was free; the cafés were filled with animated and excited crowds; gone the days of espionage, gone the Viennese inquisition; gone the days when the *Corriere della Sera* was read at the peril of one's life. The S. H. S. replaced everywhere the sinister K. und K., (Kaiserliches und Königliches,) and the Slovenes, like their brothers, the Croats and the Serbs, were ready to begin a new national existence.

BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

In the cosmopolitan province of Bosnia-Herzegovina, nationalities had been created by religions; both sympathies and antipathies were determined by the religious angle. This point of view led to complications; the Orthodox Serb saw

in the Croatian Catholic the Austrian of the old régime; in the Bosnian Mussulman he saw the Turk, abhorred less as Turk than as infidel. In this population of many languages there were 600,000 Mussulmans, 840,000 Orthodox, 460,000 Catholics, and 12,000 Jews; necessarily there was no unity of opinion when the day of liberation came. The Serbian occupation came, successor to those of Turk and Austrian. The Mussulmans were said to regret their co-religionaries; the Catholics the Austrians, Catholic like themselves. The triumph was won by the Orthodox, thus restored to their brothers in religion. Formerly conspirators, they were now the masters of the hour, and they made their new authority felt.

Even before the Jugoslav idea had taken form, Serbia had claimed Bosnia on the same basis as Macedonia; also the Banat, and, under another form, Montenegro. When the Serbian military occupation came, Catholics and Mussulmans protested; only the Orthodox supported the Serbs. Bosnia, they said, was Serbian, and would become an integral part of Serbia. Let Bosnia-Herzegovina enter into the new kingdom of Jugoslavia, answered the protesters, but we refuse to favor their becoming a Serbian province. And so the conflict between Federalism, prevalent throughout the new nation, was initiated also here.

The situation in Bosnia when the Austrian power disappeared was about the same as elsewhere. A Provisional Government was installed, at first purely local and general. With the Serbian occupation, the wind blew from Belgrade; the recalcitrant were forced to leave the Government, and the supporters were officially confirmed. Bosnia, as well as Dalmatia, received a Governor. These measures, declared the protesters, had never been ratified by any assembly; they were measures which the Constituent Assembly alone had the right to determine.

SERBIA

While Liubljana began with gusto to enjoy her new, free life; while Zagreb reveled in her new-found liberty, Bel-

grade was working silently on her task of national reconstruction; and Prince Alexander, with the same resolution that he displayed for the four years of war among the débris of his shattered armies, undertook the vast and complex task of the creation of the new Jugoslavic State.

Sacked and ruined, Belgrade stands today as a mournful monument of the Teutonic fury; the pavement is torn up; the walls are shattered by shell explosions; the houses are empty, pillaged by the invading host, which, at the order of Mackensen, carried off their booty beyond the Danube. The martyrdom of Belgrade's population had been made the subject of an official investigation; toward the end of February, one of the main oppressors, a certain Uidmann, captured at Temesvar, was waiting in prison for the punishment of his crimes. Four of the scaffolds which this man had had erected were being exhibited in the military prison; in the shops of the city were sold postal cards showing the scenes at the many hangings witnessed by the officers of Austria.

In this city of Belgrade, torn and devastated by war, the first conception of a united Serbia, completed by all the lands torn from Austria, arose; and here this original conception was developed into the wider project, discussed at Zagreb and taken up by Belgrade, of a complete and definitive South Slav State. M. Pashitch, at the personal request of the Crown Prince, nominally relinquished his power, though his influence continued parallel with that of M. Protitch, appointed President of the council in his place. An adverse party, represented by M. Drachkovitch, believed that the apprehension of the Croats, which was becoming more and more pronounced, and the Federalism of Zagreb had been provoked by the imperialistic tendencies of the "Old Radical" Party. "The Balkanism of M. Pashitch and his friends," said M. Drachkovitch, "is an element of conflict and disorganization. As far as we are concerned we are partisans also of a centralized State, but without any reserve thought of Pan-Serbism."

Opposition to the Pan-Serbian idea was confined to the other territories: in Belgrade, in the Government and around the Government, the Serbian idea transcended the Jugoslav idea, except in the case of the son of King Peter. The strength of this Pan-Serbian idea was explained thus: Serbian life crystallized throughout the war around the person of M. Pashitch, at Corfu and Saloniki, which became centres of Serbian existence during the dark period of invasion, while, during the same period, Jugoslavism, personified by M. Trumbitch, developed painfully and in isolation at London, ignored by the Allies, who encouraged the creation of Greater Serbia.

The belief of M. Protitch, as expressed by himself, embraced the organization of the new kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes as a democratic and parliamentary monarchy in the modern sense of the word, governed by its heroic dynasty, with wide administrative autonomy, and with equal, universal, secret suffrage. M. Balougdtch, Minister of the Court, entertained a similar view; Serbia had renounced her Parliament and admitted into her Government a full third of Croatian and Slovenian Ministers; she had decided for autonomy; what more could be asked of her in the way of concession? Energetically the Minister repudiated the thought of Serbicization. Similarly Prince Alexander himself declared: "It does not enter into our intentions to Serbicize Jugoslavia."

CROATIAN OPPOSITION CRYSTALLIZES

That the opposition to Serbian centralization was crystallizing was indicated by a dispatch from Zagreb published in the Paris Temps of March 4, which said that numerous national assemblies had been held in various Croatian localities to protest against the régime which Serbia had introduced into the country. The assembly held at Karlovatz (West Croatia) had voted a resolution against the Belgrade Government. This resolution may be summarized as follows:

1. It declares that it does not recognize and consider as its representatives the agents who have not been elected by the will of the people; it considers all its decisions null and void as contrary to democratic principles and the interests of the people.

2. It demands prosecution of the members of the Provisional Government who wish to introduce the monarchical régime without even consulting the people, trampling under foot national rights and constitutional liberties.

3. It invites the Council of Zagreb urgently to intervene against the bastonade, the imprisonment of individuals, the prohibition of meetings and republican agitation, and against the barbarous actions of the Serb soldiers and agents at Belovar, Ratcha, Brod, Pakratz, Zagreb, and other localities, and to put an end to barbarism and militarism in the Jugoslav countries.

A further dispatch stated that Dr. Horvat and M. Frank, former Deputies to the Diet of Croatia and leaders in the individualistic movement of Croatia, who had been recently arrested by the authorities, had been set at liberty.

Struggle to Stabilize the Czech Republic

President Masaryk's Mid-European Policy—The Fight Against Bolshevism and Famine Conditions

[PERIOD ENDED APRIL 10, 1919]

THE first message of Dr. Thomas G. Masaryk, President of the Czechoslovak Republic, which was delivered at Prague on Dec. 22, 1918, before the National Assembly, showed the foreign policy of the new State to be in the

direction of bringing about co-operation among all the States of Central Europe which had newly arisen or been strengthened by the collapse of Germany and Austria-Hungary. Only with Poland of the new nations has Czechoslovakia had

difficulties, which, since the Presidential message, have brought fighting, and recently with Hungary over the question of the delimitation of boundaries now in dispute between the new Hungarian Soviet Government and the Allies.

The Czechoslovak relations both with the Poles and the Hungarians were particularly stressed by President Masaryk in his message, with an implicit warning of the possibility of future complications. The way in which the Poles intended to obtain Czechoslovak territory in Upper Silesia, he said, was inadmissible. Over the Hungarians, he said, further, it was not necessary to waste any words. Since 1867 they had been an Austrian vanguard toward the Balkans. It was absurd, he intimated, that the Magyars had been allowed to oppress four other nations, the Slovaks, the Ruthenians, the Rumanians and the Jugoslavs. It was clearly evident that the Hungarians were entitled only to the limits of their national State.

The conflict between Czechoslovakia and Poland in Upper Silesia, particularly in the Teschen district, was described in the preceding issue of *CURRENT HISTORY*. The Interallied Mission had called on the conflicting parties to declare a truce, and had ordered the Czechs to evacuate a part of the occupied territory. This order the Czechs had rejected. Early in April a commission was sent to Paris to adjust the matters in dispute. [For the conflict of the Czechoslovaks with the Hungarians over the question of boundary see the special article on Hungary printed elsewhere in this issue.]

ATTACK ON KRAMAR CZ

The attempted assassination of Karel Kramarcz, Premier of Czechoslovakia, reported from Prague on Jan. 10, at the hands of an anarchist named Staftny, led to violent demonstrations against the Socialists. It was said that this event, which occurred on the eve of the reunion of the National Assembly, had influenced the dispositions of the Parliament. A program of reforms was read, whose immediate application would tend to improve the situation, especially in regard

to the high cost of food; the mines would be nationalized, but, above all, order would be maintained as a first condition to develop the political and economic advantages resulting from the unique situation of Bohemia in the centre of Europe. Premier Kramarcz made the following energetic declaration:

If we remain the bastion of liberty and order we can count on the support of the Entente; we shall therefore not hesitate to treat as enemies of the country all those who attempt to overthrow by force the established order of things.

CONDITIONS IN PRAGUE

The independence of reconquered Bohemia, and the assurance that its national aspirations would be favorably received at the Peace Conference, were appreciated at their just value by the enlightened minds in the new republic, but it had no visible effect on the food crisis in Czechoslovakia or on the dearth of raw materials inevitable in a country exhausted by four years of suffering. Lack of employment had developed among the people a habit of idleness which made a return to normal life difficult; above all, the great lack of food had increased the state of mental and physical exhaustion. Meat was heavily taxed; the producers sold to the rich at fantastic prices, and the butchers had closed their shops. Butter and fats had disappeared, and eggs were sold at an exorbitant price. Bread was of bad quality. Coal was becoming rarer and rarer; the Bohemian mines showed a daily deficit of 800 loads on the normal production. The return of many Czechs had created a scarcity of lodgings in Prague, to cope with which the Socialists had proposed expropriation of the houses of the rich. The sugar industry was paralyzed by lack of labor; ministers, deputies, manufacturers and merchants had appealed to the Entente for raw materials to save this industry, one of the principal sources of the wealth of Bohemia, and also for food, to prevent famine and the dreaded advent of Bolshevism.

Meanwhile the Minister of National Defense was endeavoring to reorganize the Czechoslovak Army, the country's only hope to preserve order in the in-

terior, and maintain the security of its frontiers. On Feb. 10 it was announced that the allowances paid to the unemployed had increased to about a million crowns a day, or thirty millions a month. A bill was therefore presented to Parliament to exclude Sundays and holidays in the allocation of these allowances. A maximum per family was established; false statements were to be severely punished; all unemployed would be compelled to accept any work assigned by the administration.

FAMINE IN BOHEMIA

Despite all these relief measures, it was announced on Feb. 19 from Prague that thousands of women and children were starving in Bohemia, and that an appalling death roll was inevitable in the next three months if help was not forthcoming. The people had pawned their every possession and were absolutely destitute. Public institutions could not keep the inmates alive. Among 1,700 inmates of the Prague foundling asylum and children's hospital more than 1,000 had died; other figures were equally serious. The daughter of President Masaryk confirmed the state of terrible suffering among the people.

On March 4 it was reported from Prague that the food crisis was so acute that several Czech papers had begun to reproach the Entente for not sending relief supplies. Supplies, it was admitted, were at Trieste, but they could not be transported to Bohemia because neither the Italians nor the Jugoslavs nor the Austrians possessed cars and coal; 500 cars were necessary to bring the flour, fat, and condensed milk awaiting transportation. Since the revolution telegraphic communication with Trieste had been broken off, as well as the postal service.

It had therefore been decided at Prague

to send a special Czechoslovak train to Trieste under military escort to obtain the supplies required. Negotiations with Poland had been begun to obtain meat, but the sanguinary and embittered conflicts at Teschen had broken off all relations between the two republics. The Elbe was frozen; in any case the allied blockade against Germany made this means of communication impossible. Czechoslovakia needed, according to an official statement, at least 45,000 car-loads of grain to feed its population.

In the new territories, in Slovakia, for instance, there were potatoes and meat, but the peasants refused to dispose of them, or else demanded exorbitant prices. The Government had decided to send forces into Slovakia to requisition all grain and all potatoes. Meanwhile the bread ration would be reduced to one kilo a week, and a demi-kilo of flour, in the hope of holding out until the next harvest. A monetary reform was expected to improve the economic situation.

Dr. Karl Kramarcz, the Premier of Czechoslovakia, at a dinner given by the press of Paris on March 26, made the following statements:

Our national sentiment is too strong to yield to Bolshevik temptation. Our nation will stand firm against it, unless it is overcome by Bolshevism's main agent, hunger. If Bolshevism is victorious in Russia, then Russia will inevitably fall under German influence.

The Premier admitted that Bolshevism was in dangerous proximity to Czechoslovakia, but was optimistic as to the ultimate failure of this form of radicalism. A mission from the Ukrainian Government arrived in Prague on April 8 to discuss the resumption of commercial relations between Bohemia and Ukrainia. The Ukrainian Government was ready to deliver oil in exchange for copper and glassware.

Work of the Czechoslovaks in America

By B. P. MATOCHA

[FORMER REPRESENTATIVE OF THE CZECHOSLOVAK NATIONAL ALLIANCE IN WASHINGTON]

THE Bohemians and Slovaks, the two races constituting the Czechoslovak Republic, like all Slavonic people, are inclined to be contentious among themselves. It is a part of their inherent nature. Their quarrelsome disposition caused them—at least it was one of the primary causes—to give up their independence. Palacky, the great Bohemian historian, during the chaotic conditions in the Dual Monarchy in 1848, at a period when the subjugation of this racial evil would have been the subjugation of the enemy, warned them that their national aspirations could be attained only when there was perfect harmony and understanding among all classes. Palacky understood and loved his people. He spent a part of his life in prison because of his intense love for them; in fact, his warning was given while he was imprisoned.

When Austria declared war against Serbia in 1914, Professor Thomas G. Masaryk of Prague University and Edward Benes, also a professor in that university, quietly left Prague for Paris. There they met M. Stefanik, a Slovak scholar and astronomer. The three men then and there began their labors to lead their people out of bondage. "Now or never" was their slogan. The Austrian Government set a price on Masaryk's head, and intercourse with his people in Austria was an impossibility. To rally the Bohemians and Slovaks scattered over the world and impart to them the bold conception of national independence was a part of their task. The three men were without financial means, but that did not deter them.

Masaryk had on several occasions visited America. He had married an American girl and had made many friends here; and now he called upon them for aid. About 20 per cent. of the Czechoslovaks in the United States responded, nearly all men of radical thought, like himself. True to the na-

tional traditions of their fathers, earnest and determined, they donated time and money to the cause. Legislative bodies were addressed, propaganda disseminated, appeals made to their conservative brethren as well as to American citizens.

The Bohemian National Alliance, the organization under which these labors were carried on, seemed to accomplish very little in the first two years. The socialistic ideas of the leaders were looked upon with suspicion. The conservative Czechoslovak element, ever true to the spirit and customs of their new fatherland, would not venture to give aid to the cause, though tacitly favoring it.

THE CONSERVATIVES ORGANIZE

The conservative Czechoslovak element, however, believing in preparedness, began a movement to organize. If the American Government should ever sanction the step taken by their radical brethren, they would thus be in a position to lend immediate aid. The result was that in less than six months the Bohemians and Slovaks were organized and the National Alliance of Bohemian Catholics had been established with headquarters in Chicago, while the Slovak League had been established in Pittsburgh.

In the meantime the radical element, never advancing, never despairing, labored and toiled. Masaryk hurried to Russia, established a branch of the council, and rallied the soldiers who surrendered or were captured during the great drives on the eastern front. To gain independence for Czechoslovakia their leader depended on America for moral and financial aid, and insisted on a union for that purpose. Would the opportune moment arrive? Would the conservative element co-operate and fulfill Palacky's prophecy?

On Feb. 9-12, 1918, the radical element, almost in despair, having failed in its

well-meant but misunderstood efforts, met in Chicago for the purpose of working out a new program. "Get the co-operation of the other organizations" was whispered to the conservatives. On the last day of the conference the craved but unexpected occurred—the United States declared war against Germany. The leaders of the conservatives, believing that the hour had struck, decided to transform the inactive legions into action.

THE FACTIONS UNITED

A delegation representing the Slovak League and the National Alliance of Bohemian Catholics arrived at the headquarters of the Masaryk radicals and entered the Chicago conference unannounced. One of the delegates, Mr. Dostal, stepped forward and addressed the conference, saying in part:

We have come to strengthen you in your efforts, not to weaken you. We have come to fulfill Palacky's prophecy. While the world is concentrating its forces on the battlefields of Europe to oppose the destruction of democracy, within the hopeless confines of the Austro-Hungarian Empire the people of our own flesh and blood are being imprisoned, sentenced to death by thousands by the same ruthless hand that is stretching forth to perpetuate the same crime on other liberty-loving peoples. They are bowed in sorrow, these dear brethren, for they are situated within in the path of the enemy's devastating march. They are secure on no side from their traditional foe. The atrocities in Belgium are hardly a parallel. The world knows of the crimes committed there, but our people are suffering and dying, men, women, and children, with no eye to see except that of the tormentors and executioners. Our brethren are imprisoned, their property taken, mothers separated from those they most dearly love, with no ear to hear their heart-rending cries except again the same oppressor. Must this sickening work go on?

Here in America we are blessed with everything. We have been, not adopted, but taken into the bosom of the American fatherland with outstretched hands, and without distinction are enjoying the liberal laws. We have even gained the true feeling of American generosity. Is it not in full accord with the great American spirit to lend our brethren across the seas, in the death-grip of the enemy, our comfort and our aid?

It was in 1526 that the Czech Nation, independent, free, entered into a triple alliance with the Germans and Magyars

of Austria-Hungary—with the lofty motives in the hearts of our forefathers—for the purpose of resisting the Turkish hordes that were threatening to destroy European civilization. The Czech Nation completed the triple alliance, and served to wrest the sword from the hand of the infidel; but this very alliance, entered into with as honest an intention as men can conceive, resulted in a treacherous grip upon the members of the alliance. The Slavs made a bold stand for their rights time and again, and emphasized that fact in 1620, when they staked all they possessed in the disastrous battle of White Mountain, (Bila Hora.) The chivalrous spirit of our forefathers was destroyed, the flower of the nobility perished, institutions were demolished and property confiscated. Then our national aspirations, our genius for music, our love of freedom, remained in oblivion as a forgotten necropolis for a period of two centuries. In fact, so complete was the defeat that the Anglo-Saxon historian could not find sufficient trace afterward to lay a cornerstone in history to perpetuate the memory of this heroic people. And it was in this great struggle that our forefathers failed to unite firmly as a nation.

With the still festering sores inflicted by the enemy, who is opening them anew with fresh strokes on the soil belonging to our forefathers, let us, then, with true American greatness offer up a part of our time and money for our unfortunate brethren. Let us do what seemed impossible, unite absolutely for this holy cause, and we shall win. Again I say that we have not come here to deprive you of the national aspirations which you possess, but to aid and strengthen you in the fight. We congratulate you upon the great efforts you have made. We come as the representatives of 75 per cent. of the people. All we demand is that we work in harmony and strictly according to American views and principles.

HEADQUARTERS IN WASHINGTON

The members of the conference responded by standing up in their seats and cheering their new comrades in arms. Men who had been bitter enemies, men who had shunned each other, now shook hands and embraced. It was a moment that will never be forgotten. The union had become a reality, the trinity had become one for the purpose of liberating Bohemia.

The Czechoslovak National Council at Paris was recognized as the head. Sixteen delegates were chosen for the three organizations, to act as the executive

body. It was decided to establish the American branch of the Czechoslovak National Council in Washington with three representatives to correspond to the three organizations and empowered to act for the people in political matters. In order to inform the public of the aspirations of the Czechoslovaks, a Slav Press Bureau was also established in Washington. But the three young representatives, inexperienced in this line of work, sought the aid of Captain Voska—now attached to General Pershing's staff—who came from New York and offered his services. When Professor Masaryk arrived at San Francisco, on his way from Russia to Paris, the State Department refused to allow him to proceed through this country, but Captain Voska, immediately after being informed of the fact, made satisfactory arrangements for Masaryk to proceed on his journey.

THE MORAL EFFECT

With the three representatives in Washington, representing 1,700,000 Czechoslovaks in America, the future at once seemed brighter. Large influential dailies in Washington, Chicago, New York, and elsewhere began to devote space to the Bohemian cause. Senators and Congressmen were now willing to know the details of the renascent nation's political demands. The report reached the Washington Council that Professor Masaryk would pass through the United States, remaining here, at most, two weeks. He was met in Detroit by a delegation, and Rev. I. Kestl, the head of the National Alliance of Bohemian Catholics, greeted him and made known to him that there was a complete union, and that he was looked upon as the head of the movement. Less than a score of years had passed since Masaryk had attacked the Catholics, but the past was now forgotten. In Chicago Professor Masaryk was given a grand welcome, and was induced to remain for an indefinite period. When he went to Washington his plans had modified to meet the wishes of the conservative element and to conform with the tacit desires of the American Government.

THE SOLEMN DECLARATION

After a number of conferences a declaration was prepared, embodying the real aims and spirit of the Czechoslovak people. This solemn declaration was handed to President Wilson on the Fourth of July, 1918. It was, in part, as follows:

We, loyal Czechoslovaks of America, bowing in reverent respect before the majesty of your people, bending our heads before the memory of your greatest sons, Washington and Lincoln, stand with all the might we possess behind you and your President, greeting in him your great new morning.

We came here from the land of suffering and oppression. It is on this account that we hailed America like a rising sun after the dark night of humiliation. And she received us—poor, unknown, insignificant. She received us, and her sun warmed us from the first moment we set foot on her soil—the big sun of a freer, happier life than we had lived in our oppressed native land. * * *

Over the vastness of the oceans, over mountains and dark valleys of death, there came to the Czechoslovak land a voice like a bugle announcing victory, singing a great Marseillaise of life and hope into their bitterness of disappointment and despair. It was the voice of a man speaking the message of God's brightest angel: "The world must be made safe for democracy! The nations shall determine their own destinies. They shall rise from the graves of centuries to do the work of God, which is the work of man, in the language of their mothers and in the traditions of their race." Thus spoke the man—Woodrow Wilson. Thus, through him, spoke the whole American Nation.

Strengthened by the might of his glorious courage, our brothers in the old country gave their death pledge, April 13, 1918, within the walls of the ancient Capitol. And in firm, unshakable faith in the final victory of our most sacred rights, in faith in the victory of justice, victory of right over might, freedom over slavery, democracy over privilege, and truth over falsehood, we raise our hands today, on the threshold of a new era of world history, and, by the dear memory of our fathers, before the eyes of the resurrected nation and the graves of our fallen, in great harmony of soul, we promise for today and for all the future: "We will remain where we have taken our stand. We will keep on till we win!"

Repeating the solemn pledge given by our brothers, having on our lips the names of this country and her President, we, too, lift our hands today, July 4, 1918,

as we are gathered under the folds of the flag of this great Republic, and solemnly pledge ourselves to be loyal and true to the Government of the United States and its President.

This document, signed "Czechoslovaks in America," was the first official expression tempered by the conservative element. It portrayed the genuine spirit of the Czechoslovaks and formed the foundations of the proposed republic. When Professor Masaryk made his entry into Prague in 1918 as the first President of the republic, Captain Voska, representing the American Government, received the same ovation as the tireless leader, because the people knew that they were indebted to America for the laws and Constitution prepared and drafted strictly according to American precedent. And because Professor Masaryk willingly submitted to the American spirit, to the will of the people here, he was made the first President of Bohemia.

FINANCIAL SUPPORT

As soon as matters were reconciled at the Chicago convention the organization called upon the people for financial support. Never had they responded more willingly or liberally. One patriot gave his entire earnings, consisting of a house and lot, to the cause. Many individuals sent checks amounting to \$1,000; thousands gave \$100 each. In Pittsburgh \$60,000 was raised in two weeks; in Chicago \$100,000 within the same period. In Texas \$5,000 was collected in less than three months. But the people, in spite of the large sums contributed, did not overlook their first duty to their adopted fatherland. In the Fourth Liberty Loan campaign the Czechoslovaks purchased \$31,000,000 worth of bonds, or \$6,000,000 less than the Poles, who are numerically twice as many in the United States.

A part of the money collected for the cause was retained in this country, but the greater part of it was sent to the National Council in Paris and distributed for political and propaganda work. England, France, and Italy would never have recognized the Czechoslovaks at such an early date if it had not been for the financial and moral support given by the Bohemians in America.

On the morning of Sept. 4, 1918, Mr.

Lansing called Captain Voska and handed him the official text of the recognition of the Czechoslovak National Council by the American Government. Even though the Allies had already recognized the council, this recognition by the United States was considered the most important of all. The council had now become a de facto Government. The New York Times, the next day, interpreted the meaning of the recognition in the following words: "The recognition of the "Czechoslovaks is held here to mean "that America is irrevocably committed "to the principle of dissolution of the "Austro-Hungarian Empire as a feature "of the scheme of reconstruction of Europe along lines of nationality."

CZECHOSLOVAK RECRUITS

The new nation's political desires realized, another step was necessary—to give still further aid to the United States and the Allies in subduing the Central Powers. To this end the Czechoslovaks rallied with no less zeal and fervor than they had evinced in their political fight. American citizens of Czechoslovak descent volunteered and behaved with signal courage upon the battlefield. Those who were not citizens were sent to Camp Stamford, Connecticut, where they were trained at the exclusive expense of the council, receiving 10 cents a day. Since the council was not able financially to supply the recruits with uniforms, they were forced to wear their civilian clothes, which oftentimes were torn and ragged, but to this fact the soldiers paid little or no attention. When the bill passed Congress forming a Foreign Legion, there were no more able-bodied men among the Czechoslovaks to volunteer, as they had all joined the American or French Army.

Masaryk, instead of returning to Paris, remained in Washington until he was made President of the republic. The Constitution for the new nation, first read in public in Independence Hall, Philadelphia, was modeled upon the laws and Constitution of the United States. Thus, in the very fibre of its being, the Czechoslovak Republic is a product of American liberty.

The Council of National Defense

By EMILY NEWELL BLAIR

UNDER the United States Council of National Defense there has been built up, in addition to a central machinery in Washington that has played a vital part in organizing our civilian and economic forces for victory, a complete defense system consisting of organizations in 4,000 counties, with units of the Woman's Committee in practically every community, and with some 164,000 community and municipal units.

The Council of National Defense was not created merely as a war emergency body. It was established as a first step in preparedness before the country was aligned on either side of the great conflict then raging across the world. It was in August, 1916, that the act of Congress was approved charging the Secretaries of War, Navy, Interior, Agriculture, Commerce, and Labor with the "co-ordination of industries and resources for the national security and welfare" and with the "creation of relations which will render possible in time of need the immediate concentration and utilization of the resources of the nation." And it was with questions of preparedness that it busied itself the first year of its existence.

It devoted itself, first of all, to organizing its administrative machinery, which consisted, as provided by law, of an Advisory Commission to consist of not more than seven persons,

each of whom shall have special knowledge of some industry, public utility, or the development of some natural resource, or be otherwise qualified, in the opinion of the council, for the performance of such duties as to supervise and direct investigations, and make recommendations to the President and the heads of the executive departments, as to location of railroads with reference to the frontier of the United States; the co-ordination of military, industrial, and commercial purposes in the locations of railroads and highways; the mobilization of military and naval resources of defense; the increase of the domestic production of articles and materials essential to support of

armies and of the public during the interruption of foreign commerce; the development of seagoing transportation.

To carry out this great task \$200,000 was appropriated by the act. The men appointed upon the Advisory Commission were: Daniel Willard, in charge of the transportation and communication problems; Howard E. Coffin, munitions and manufacturing; Julius Rosenwald, supplies; Bernard M. Baruch, raw materials, minerals and metals; Dr. Hollis Godfrey, engineering and education; Samuel Gompers, labor, and Dr. Franklin Martin, medicine and surgery. Both the council and this Advisory Commission met several times a week for discussion, separately and jointly. The administration of the council was centred in the Director, and the various committees having in charge special activities or tasks were immediately under his supervision. He in turn made reports to the council, which made recommendations to the heads of the executive departments and referred specific problems to the various sections of the Advisory Committee, the Director serving as the connecting link between the two bodies. This responsibility fell upon W. S. Gifford, the first Director of the council and now Controller of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company.

HOW THE WORK DEVELOPED

Holding itself in readiness to meet any demands that might come upon it and evolving to meet each one as it came, the council not only grew from a small body employing five persons and occupying three rooms in an office building, into an organization with 1,600 people on its payroll, filling a whole block; but it developed from a compact unit to a large system with terminals in the distant prairies and subordinate bodies covering many ranges of activity and interest.

The council was not fully organized until March 3, 1917. War was declared April 6. Like all things else in America, the council moved at once from a peace

to a war basis. Its duty was clear. It must serve as a connecting link between America at peace and America as a machine for victory. The President had said that it was the spirit of a people that must be mobilized. It was the mobilization not alone of the resources of the country, but of this spirit that the council undertook. Everywhere both men and women placed themselves and their resources unsparingly at the service of their country. The council, though its machinery had not been for executive action, made of itself a channel for centralizing and directing this voluntary effort.

WAR INDUSTRIES BOARD

As this work progressed and new and greater tasks loomed ahead, the council went further and, adapting its elastic structure to the need, planned and initiated new, permanent, or emergency agencies of the Government. Most important of these agencies, perhaps, was the War Industries Board. Men from industry and the professions rallied to the aid of the Government, serving on the various committees of the council, practically without compensation. The general spirit underlying these original committees was fundamentally that of business organization itself in aid of the Government. It is probable that at this particular stage in the progress of the war no plan could have produced more effectual results in so brief a time. The natural process of administration gradually eliminated these industrial committees and substituted for them a closely knit scheme of sections under the general head of the War Industries Board.

One of the most important of these sections, in view of the value of its contribution toward the prosecution of the war, and the policy it later contributed to the basic plan of the War Industries Board, was the Commercial Economy Board, established by the council March 24, 1917, to study and advise how commercial business might best meet the demands to be made on it by the war. It was apparent that many men and materials ordinarily employed in these activities

would have to be taken for war work and fighting. That this might be done without needless hardship to business and civilians dependent on it for supplies, the board determined to find out what activities within the various lines of business were nonessential, and to reduce them. Concerns which lost men by the draft were asked to get along, as far as possible, without replacing them. Plans were made to prevent shortages of material by the conservation of the supply known to be available.

CO-OPERATION WITH BUSINESS

This board had no power of legal control. It accomplished results by voluntary co-operation with the businesses affected. Discovering where a waste existed, or economy was needed, it studied the methods of production or delivery as the case might be, and originated a campaign for conservation. Notable was the undertaking to stop the return of unsold bread to bakers from retailers. Among other achievements of the board were the cutting down in numbers of retail delivery service; the conservation of wool and leather, by lessening the varieties of goods offered in the market; conservation of paint, linseed oil and tinplate by reducing shades of house paints manufactured, and eliminating certain sizes of cans, and economy of rubber by standardization of automobile tires.

The forerunner of the War Industries Board was known as the General Munitions Board, which had begun the work of determining ways to meet the war-industry needs of the Government by co-ordinating the making of purchases by the army and navy, assisting in the acquisition of raw material, and establishing precedence of orders between the military and industrial needs of the country.

In May, 1918, the entire War Industries Board, including the Commercial Economy Board, which became its Conservation Division, was formally separated from the council. This marked the end of the council's task in planning new machinery to meet new war needs. In the Aircraft Board, the rebirth of the Shipping Committee into the Shipping Board, the absorption of the Committee

on Coal Production into the Fuel Administration, and other agencies which it initiated and developed, the same process of separation and final allocation took its course. To discuss each of the various committees and sections is impossible within the limitations of a magazine article. Suffice it to mention as among the most important, the Commercial Economy Board, the Industrial Inventory, Highways Transport, Raw Materials, Supplies, and Labor Committees, and the General Medical Board and Medical Section.

SCIENCE AND RESEARCH

While the business men of the country were serving gratuitously in the War Industries Board and other departments of the council, the scientific men of the country with equal generosity were working under another department, that of science and research. In April, 1916, when the attack on the Sussex had greatly increased the tension of our relations with Germany, the National Academy of Science had voted to offer its services in organizing the scientific resources of the country. The offer was accepted, and the academy constituted the National Research Council, comprising the chiefs of the technical bureaus of the army and navy, the heads of the Government bureaus engaged in scientific research, a group of investigators representing educational institutions and research foundations, and another group including representatives of industrial and engineering research. On Feb. 28, 1917, the Council of National Defense passed a resolution expressing its recognition of this organization and requesting its co-operation. Soon afterward the Research Council became the Department of Science and Research of the council, in which capacity it served to direct and mobilize the research work of the country's scientific men.

For the funds to carry on this work it has drawn partly on the President's fund and partly on private resources and contributions of its own. Among its important functions was to act as advisory agent of the Signal Corps; to secure, classify, and disseminate scientific, technical, and industrial research informa-

tion, especially relating to war problems, and the interchange of such information between the Allies in Europe and the United States to co-operate with the War College in supplying information relating to topographical, geographical, and related subjects; to report upon the work of the Patent Office in the hope of finding means to improve the existing procedure.

Among the far-reaching results of its activities was a collection of a large amount of information regarding materials for rapid highway construction and of concrete available for ships; the development of a non-leakable gasoline tank for aviators; of five new types of signaling lamps; filters and color screens for increasing visibility; an elaborate investigation of the relative merits of monoculars and binoculars; the organization of the sound ranging work in the army; a new method of avoiding electrostatic dangers to balloons, and determining the initial speed of projectiles; a new optical range finder, and an increase in the production of optical glass. In the divisions of medicine and the related sciences of chemistry, geology, and geography much was accomplished of a nature helpful for times of peace as well as of war.

COMMITTEE ON LABOR

Equally important to the successful mobilization of the people was the work accomplished at the very outset by the Committee on Labor, of which Samuel Gompers, a member of the Advisory Commission, was Chairman. Even before the declaration of war he called together representatives of organized labor who discussed the situation and took a definite stand as to labor's willingness to support the Government. Through the appointment of subsidiary and Executive Committees, Mr. Gompers successfully mobilized labor for the war. Notable among the achievements of this committee, supported and authorized by the council, was the initiating and drafting of the War-Risk Insurance bill, providing various compensations for soldiers and sailors and their dependents; the publication of a statement defining labor's position in the war; the visit of the

British labor delegates to America, and the adoption of a declaration to the effect that economic and legislative standards should not be lowered unless the Council of National Defense should indicate that such a departure was essential for the national defense.

ORGANIZING STATE COUNCILS

The declaration of war found citizens in every part of the country with a desire to serve the defense and common welfare. Patriotic organizations of various natures sprang up over night. The office of the council was besieged with requests for information as to how these bodies should proceed in order to be useful. In several States, especially along the Atlantic seaboard, committees of public safety were proceeding to work. On April 6, 1917, the council established a Section on Co-operation with the States. It was apparent that the work of these organizations should be directed by some central body in each State, while at the same time there should be in Washington some division to act as a clearing house between these State bodies, to secure uniformity where uniformity was desirable, and to make the services of the State organizations available to the various branches of the Federal Government. To meet this need the Secretary of War, in his capacity as Chairman of the Council of Defense, issued to Governors of all the States, and to the Commissioners of the District of Columbia, a request that they create State Councils of Defense, or similar committees, with broad powers, representative of the resources, industries, and activities of each State, to co-operate with the National Council.

Following this action the council called in Washington, on May 2, 1917, a conference of the States. Every State in the Union sent representatives, and twelve Governors attended. The conference was opened by the Chairman of the council and addressed by the President of the United States. There was a frank discussion of the needs of the nation, and a resolution was passed pledging the States to the co-operation desired.

By the end of June every State had a State Council, either by appointment of the Governor or by act of the State Leg-

islature. The members were chosen on a nonpartisan basis. These State Councils became the recognized war bodies in each State, and it was the function of the Section on Co-operation with States, which later became known as the State Councils Section, to transmit to them the requests and recommendations of the Council of National Defense and the other departments and new war organizations in Washington, and, through recommendations, to assist the State Councils to accomplish the ends sought; to apprise the appropriate Federal authorities of the development of situations of importance throughout the country, of the needs of various States, and of the temper of public opinion; to act as a clearing house between the States, carrying to each the experience of the other.

Immediately the National Council recommended to the various State Councils the organization, under the jurisdiction of the State Council, of County and Township Councils of Defense.

By the beginning of 1918, State and local Councils of Defense had been organized in nearly every State. It is estimated that altogether there are 4,000 of them. The council of defense system, as it began to be called, was recognized both at Washington and in the States as an effective means of reaching the individual citizen, of mobilizing the efforts of the whole people in winning the war, and of transmitting the thoughts and desires of the people to Washington. Its terminal unit was the community council, not merely a committee, as was the State and county council, but the community itself, with all its citizens and agencies organized for national service. Without these community councils the channels of communication of the defense system would vanish into thin air; with them, the Federal Government had a direct line of communication through the State Council to every citizen in the community. By June, 1918, forty-two States reported these terminal organizations. It is estimated that there were at the time of the signing of the armistice 164,000 of these community councils attached to the National Defense system.

In addition to building up this vast

system, which, since it meant the mobilization of the spirit of the people, was an achievement in itself, much work was specially done in the interest of national defense. Help was given to various Federal agencies, among them the Departments of War, Navy, Interior, Agriculture, Commerce, Labor, Treasury, Justice, the Shipping Board, the Food and Fuel Administration, and the American Red Cross. So long would be the list of the noteworthy activities of the Council of Defense system that it would be impossible to enumerate them. Perhaps the average man and woman knew its work best through the elimination of certain practices in the business world in the interests of economy and conservation of man power such as the efforts to cut down the loss by fire and rats, the safeguarding of live stock from railroad crossings, the cutting down of bread and milk deliveries, and the "carry-home-your-own-parcels" campaign.

But other services were rendered to the public, among them the assistance given to the military arm of the Government in the detection of deserters and in the operation of the draft boards; the stimulation of food production; the development of the Rural Motor Express; the requisitioning of country road crews for thrashing and haying; the establishment of room registration bureaus; legal advice given to men in service; reports to the Alien Property Custodian; social welfare work among industrial plants, and vice control. Perhaps the most important of all State Council work, though the most difficult to report, was that whose purpose was the building of the civilian morale through the community councils by means of "liberty sings," financial and other support to four-minute speakers, plans for giving honors and memorials to men in military service, and the securing of materials for historical records.

ORGANIZING THE WOMEN

While the Council of National Defense was perfecting the State Council machinery it was at work mobilizing another large division of the citizenship, the women. Just fifteen days after war was declared the woman power was called to

service by the appointment of the Woman's Committee of the Council. Dr. Anna Howard Shaw was its Chairman, and ten other women, Miss Ida M. Tarbell, Mrs. Joseph P. Lamar, Mrs. Philip North Moore, Miss Maude Wetmore, Mrs. Stanley J. McCormick, Miss Hannah J. Patterson, Mrs. Josiah M. Cowles, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, Mrs. Antoinette Funk, and Miss Agnes Nestor were named to serve with her. This committee was primarily an advisory committee to the council, but was especially charged with the duty of co-ordinating and centralizing the work of women throughout the country.

It therefore organized in each State a division of its committee, and these State divisions were in turn urged to organize county and local units of the Woman's Committee. In co-operation with the State Councils Section, the Woman's Committee urged that State Councils should recognize, as the official State agency for woman's war work, the State divisions and local units thus organized. In the majority of States this was done, and the Chairmen of the State divisions were appointed members of their respective State Councils.

WOMEN'S DIVERSE ACTIVITIES

A faint idea of the extent of the women's activities may be gleaned from the mere mention of some of them, namely: Registration for service, which in twenty-four States recorded the names of women who were willing to give all or part time to the war needs of the country, and which provided names of many workers afterward utilized in welfare work, civil service jobs, and to replace men going into military service; the assistance given to the work of the home demonstration agents, the promotion of war gardens, the relieving of the agricultural labor shortage by providing women workers and equipment for their accommodation, and relieving farmers' wives of part of the household labor; community enterprises of many sorts for the preservation of food and for additional markets and food exchanges; the making of a thorough survey of cooked-food agencies; extensive and intensive co-operation with the Food Administra-

tion, both in the food drives and in the educational and executive work of the administration; interpreting to the women of the country the policy of the Govern-



GROSVENOR B. CLARKSON
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ment regarding the maintenance of standards for women in employment and advising departments in Washington as to housing conditions of employees; placing at the disposal of the Children's Bureau the entire machinery to execute the program for children's year; conducting the weighing and measuring tests, the education and recreation drives; placing the machinery of the committee at the command of various organizations such as the Red Cross and Y. M. C. A., for relief work, to raise funds and gather supplies; providing hospital facilities and conducting the Student Nurse Reserve drive; securing Government workers at the request of the Civil Service Commission, and rendering assistance to the Commercial Economy Board, the Shipping Board, the Liberty Loan Commit-

tee, the Thrift Savings Committee, the Advocate General's office, and many other agencies of the Government.

In the Fall of 1918 there was effected an amalgamation of the State Councils Section and that part of the machinery of the Woman's Committee which concerned itself with work in the States, under the name of the Field Division of the Council of National Defense. Franklin K. Lane, Secretary of the Interior, was made Chairman of the new division, and Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, Vice Chairman. The various State Councils and State divisions of the Woman's Committee were advised of the creation of the Field Division and urged to bring about a similar amalgamation in the States. To each State was left the details of making such adjustment as would enable men and women to work together and permit both men and women to vote in executive control. The Woman's Committee remained as advisory committee to the council.

While the new Field Division was still working out its destiny, the armistice was signed. As most of the State Councils had been created for the period of the war, and as many of the divisions of the Woman's Committee were dependent upon the State Councils for financial support, there ensued a period of waiting to ascertain what the status of the two State organizations might be during the reconstruction period.

MR. CLARKSON AS DIRECTOR

In the meantime, the directorship of the Council of National Defense had passed from Mr. Gifford to Grosvenor B. Clarkson. Mr. Clarkson had been Secretary of the council and of the Advisory Commission throughout the war, and also Director of the Field Division. Since the council was not in the first instance merely a war emergency, but a permanent body, it naturally passed to such reconstruction tasks as seemed imminent. Under the authority of the President, Director Clarkson, as early as June, 1918, organized a small staff to survey, classify, and digest the reconstruction activities of this and foreign countries, making reports thereon to the President and the executive departments. Later the

staff grew into the Reconstruction Research Division, the prime purpose of which is to get the many readjustment problems logically stated and analyzed as a basis for the work of any reconstruction commission that Congress or the President may create.

The Council of National Defense continues as a post-war and permanent agency. Aside from its broad functions under the act which created it, it is urging the establishment of nonpartisan community councils as the final residuum of the wartime co-operative endeavor in order, in the words of Director Clarkson, "to draw permanent dividends in the national interest of the superb unity born of the war."

With the intention of further decentralizing these community councils the council has recommended that, at the current sessions of the State Legislatures,

legislation be enacted providing for the development of community councils and for permanent State leadership of all organized communities.

In this business of welding the nation, the United States Council of National Defense continues, not, however, confining itself to the duty of directing or stimulating the organization of community councils. Though it continues to convey to these community councils such information and requests as the various Federal departments may desire, information and requests having to do now, not with defense, but with the new demands and problems of readjustment, it also studies those problems and investigates those related needs, thus fulfilling the purpose that gave it birth, that of making the resources of the nation in time of need available for the national security and welfare.

Canada's Share in the War

By OWEN E. McGILLICUDDY

UP to the outbreak of war in August, 1914, the Dominion of Canada was probably interested to a smaller extent in military affairs than any other allied nation. At that time the Dominion had a permanent military force of barely 3,000 men, yet during the next four years and a half 595,441 men were enlisted, and of this number 59,545, (including presumed dead and missing) paid with their lives the price of a world's freedom.

Until the Parliament of 1917 assembled Canada had raised her forces by voluntary enlistment, and 465,984 men were raised by this means. After the Military Service act came into force in 1918, 83,355 draftees (and volunteers) were taken into training, and this, with the 24,933 men who had been granted leave or discharged and 21,169 who were enlisted in the Royal Air Force, made up the total man power contribution of 595,441. In addition, during the early stages of the war, 14,590 reservists from Great Britain and other allied countries

left Canada to rejoin the colors of their respective countries.

CANADIAN BATTLE HISTORY

But apart from the hard, cold figures, it has been on the battlefield where Canada has won deathless glory and has achieved a name which time will never fade. The first engagement in which the Canadians took part was that of the Ypres salient, which lasted from April 22 to April 27, 1915, and where, against vastly superior numbers, and in bad ground, with little else beyond grit and tenacity they held back the German armies in their rush to Calais and other French coast points.

In the following May, on the 18th and 19th, the sanguinary battle of Festubert took place, and once more the Canadian Army Corps showed their metal and were commended by General Alderson. At Givenchy the fighting lasted a week, June 15-22, and in attack and counter-attack they once more stemmed the German rushes.

After that the Canadian Corps did not figure in any marked engagements, apart from the routine trench warfare, until the Battle of St. Eloi, April 3-12, 1916, where many casualties were suffered. Sanctuary Wood, which was fought from June 2 to 4, was the next engagement, and this was followed in quick succession by the Battle of Hooge, which lasted from June 5 to 8. In the early Fall, starting on September 15 and lasting until Oct. 3, terrific fighting occurred around Courcelette, which resulted in some of the heaviest casualties suffered up to that period of the war. The Battle of Mouquet Farm occurred during the same time, but did not last as long, the fighting only taking place on September 16 and 17.

Some of the bloodiest fighting of the war, so far as trench warfare was concerned, took place in the Regina and Kenora trenches from Oct. 2 to 8, and in Desire Trench from Nov. 17 to 18. But it was from April 6 to 9, in 1917, that the troops from the Dominion won the battle which indicated that the Allies were developing unsuspected strength, and that Canadian reinforcements were proving of incalculable aid in frustrating the plans of the German high command, for it was on that date that the much-coveted Vimy Ridge was taken and ample demonstration given that with anywhere nearly equal forces in guns and men the Canadian Corps were invincible.

Arlieux and Fresnoy followed shortly after, from April 28 to 30, but were made up mostly of counterattacks, in which both the enemy and the Canadians suffered heavily. The engagement around Lens, which began on June 11, resulted in heavy casualties through the machine-gun fire which was brought to bear on the Canadians while they were attacking. At Hill 70 the fighting was intense during Aug. 15, but the casualties were much heavier during the Passchendaele fighting from Oct. 25 to Nov. 10. At Passchendaele the Canadians had to attempt to make an advance over ground that was very boggy, and the progress for men, beasts, and machinery proved very difficult. The result was, owing to the advantageous position possessed by

the enemy, many casualties and much loss in munitions and equipment.

THE VICTORY CAMPAIGN

Outside of routine work the Canadians took things easily until the big German advance toward Amiens began on March 23, 1918, lasting until the 31st. During this engagement the motor machine guns and cavalry brigades performed valiant service in checking the enemy. At the second battle of Amiens, which was the beginning of the allied advance, and lasted from Aug. 9 to 16, the Canadians drove wedges into the enemy's lines which forced him to commence a retreat. This was followed up by the battle of Arras, fought on Aug. 26 to 28, where the casualties inflicted by the Canadians threw the enemy into confusion and hurried his retreat in great disorder. From Sept. 3 to 5 the Canadians broke the famous Quéant-Drocourt line, sometimes called the Hindenburg line, and then an astonished world began to realize that the day of German military supremacy had passed, never to return.

The fighting around Bourlon Wood was made up of many machine-gun engagements and the losses were terrific. At Cambrai, however, from Oct. 1 to 9, the fighting is reported to have been even more bloody, for it was here that the German Army was making a last determined stand before commencing the retreat which took it out of France. A sharp engagement took place at Denain on Oct. 20, and the Canadians also assisted in the encircling movement around Valenciennes, which lasted from Oct. 25 to Nov. 2. The crowning achievement was the last engagement which took place at Mons on Nov. 10, where, in the early morning, before the signing of the terms of armistice, the Canadians took the town in a splendid charge with fixed bayonets.

TOTAL CASUALTIES

Such, in short, is the battle history of the Canadians in the great war. The total casualties sustained by the Canadian Expeditionary Force as reported up to Jan. 15, 1919, were 218,433, made up as follows: Killed in action, 35,684; died of wounds, 12,437; died of disease, 4,087;

wounded, 155,839; prisoners of war, 3,049; presumed dead, 4,682; missing, 398, and died in Canada, 2,287.

From these figures it is apparent that the total deaths, including men presumed dead and missing, are 59,545. By periods the casualties, in round figures, were as follows: Before Dec. 31, 1915, 14,500; during 1916, 56,500; during 1917, 74,500, and during 1918, 73,000.

The number of men of the Canadian Expeditionary Force who had gone overseas on Nov. 15, 1918, was 418,052. The movement of troops overseas which brought about this total is shown by the annual figures to be as follows: Before Dec. 31, 1914, 30,999; during 1915, 84,334; during 1916, 165,553; during 1917, 63,536, and from Jan. 1 to Nov. 15, 1918, 73,630. On Sept. 30, 1918, there were approximately 160,000 effectives on the Continent and about 116,000 in reserve in England.

Probably the tale of Canada's valor on the western front is more strikingly recorded in the unofficial list of the military honors which had been granted to members of the Canadian Expeditionary Force up to Dec. 20, 1918. At that time 63 Canadians had won the Victoria Cross, 513 had won the Distinguished Service Order, 41 had won the first bar to the D. S. O., and 6 had won a second bar to the D. S. O. For the other commissioned officers' medal, the Military Cross, 1,882 Canadians were invested with this decoration, of which 99 received first bar to the cross. In the ranks the showing was even greater; 1,186 were granted the Distinguished Conduct Medal, of which 6 were given first bar to the D. C. M.; 6,697 won the Military Medal, of whom 271 won the first bar and 10 won the second bar; 430 received the Meritorious Service Medal, 3,333 were mentioned in dispatches, 192 won the Royal Red Cross, while 226 received other British honors.

The recognition of Canadian valor is also shown in the decorations conferred by other allied countries. The foreign decorations include 410 French, 7 Belgian, 7 Serbian, 28 Italian, 8 Montenegrin, and 159 Russian.

At the outbreak of the war in 1914 the Canadian Government possessed only

two naval vessels, the Niobe, stationed at Halifax, and the Rainbow, stationed at Esquimalt. The Rainbow, which was ready for sea, patrolled, with other ships from the Pacific station, as far south as Panama, and captured several ships carrying contraband of war. After the entry of the United States into the war she became depot ship on the Pacific Coast. The Niobe was ready for sea in September, 1914, and remained in commission one year, during which she steamed over 30,000 miles on patrol duty. She afterward became depot ship at Halifax.

At the beginning of hostilities various small craft were taken over by the Naval Department and were armed and manned by the Royal Canadian Naval Volunteer Reserves for the performance of patrol duties off the Atlantic coast. On the Pacific Coast two submarines which had been bought just before the declaration of war patrolled the approaches to Victoria and Vancouver Harbors, and were potential factors in the defense of these ports during the early stages of the war, when German ships were still on the high seas. Early in 1917 the Department of Naval Service undertook to have sixty trawlers and 100 drifters built in Canada for the Imperial Government. These vessels were built at various places on the St. Lawrence River and the Great Lakes. Many of them were in service in Canadian and European waters during 1917, while all were in service by 1918. The area patrolled stretched from the Strait of Belle Isle to the Bay of Fundy, and from Quebec to east of the Virgin Rocks. It is noteworthy that in this area, where the Department of Naval Service had control of patrols, convoys, mine sweeping, the protection of fishing fleets, &c., only one large vessel was lost by enemy attack.

At the date of the armistice the personnel of the service comprised officers and men of the Royal Canadian Navy, 749; officers and men of the Royal Canadian Navy Volunteer Reserve, 4,374. In addition to the above over 1,700 men have been recruited in Canada for the Royal Navy and are on service abroad; 73 surgeon probationers and 580 proba-

tionary flight Lieutenants were also secured for the imperial service.

WAR FINANCES

To provide the sinews of war the Government, during the last four years, has issued five domestic loans for the purpose of raising new capital with which to finance war munitions of various kinds. The following are the amounts of the loans issued, with the number of subscribers for each issue:

	Amount of loan.	No. sub- scribers.
1915 War Loan, 5%....	\$100,000,000	24,862
1916 War Loan, 5%....	100,000,000	34,526
1917 War Loan, 5%....	139,000,000	41,000
1917 Victory Loan, 5½%	398,000,000	820,035
1918 Victory Loan, 5½%	695,389,277	1,104,107

Approximate total...\$1,432,389,277

The figures for the 1918 loan are taken from the final announcement made by the National Committee in Toronto shortly after Jan. 1, 1919. This report pointed out that, taking the Dominion as a whole, one person in every 7.08 of the total population had subscribed to the loan, as compared with one in every 9.02 in 1917.

In addition to the loans, War Savings Certificates and debenture stock to a considerable amount have been issued. It is estimated that \$192 per capita to the population of the Dominion has been lent to the Government.

IMPERIAL MUNITIONS BOARD

From the outbreak of the war to November 30, 1918, Canada has established credits on behalf of the Imperial Government amounting to \$709,000,000. Through these advances Great Britain has been able to finance her necessary purchases in Canada and to carry on the operations of the Imperial Munitions Board. In addition to this, Canadian chartered banks have advanced the sum of \$200,000,000 to the Imperial Government in order to finance the purchase of munitions and wheat. This was made possible by the large savings deposits in Canadian banks, which at the conclusion of the war amounted to approximately \$1,000,000,000, or over \$400,000,000 in excess of the total as it stood in August, 1914.

Orders for munitions amounting to

upward of \$1,200,000,000 were placed by the board in various localities throughout the Dominion up to the signing of the armistice. The bulk of this was spent on shells and their component parts, the shell expenditure totaling \$937,456,826. In an announcement made by the Department of Public Information for the Imperial Munitions Board in the Fall of 1918 it was stated that over 65,000,000 shells, ranging in size from 13-pounders to 9.2 inches in calibre, had been purchased in Canada by the board since its inception in December, 1915. This made the entire outlay in Canada by the Imperial Government for shells alone almost a billion dollars.

"To this vast sum," the announcement continues, "must be added the outlay on shells before the Imperial Munitions Board was organized, as well as the orders placed on behalf of the United States Government, the figures for which are not available at present." The following gives the quantities of the different sized shells produced in Canada for the imperial authorities:

18-pounder shrapnel (empty).....	8,664,920
18-pounder shrapnel (filled).....	24,939,798
18-pounder high explosive.....	5,629,411
4.5-inch howitzer explosive.....	1,571,344
60-pounder howitzer explosive.....	1,104,276
6-inch howitzer explosive.....	10,519,219
8-inch howitzer explosive.....	753,517
9.2-inch howitzer explosive.....	782,355
15-pounder shrapnel	299,258
13-pounder shrapnel	79,550

Total 65,343,648

Previous to August, 1914, no Canadian manufacturer had ever made a shell, cartridge case, or fuse, yet in the second half of 1917 Canada was producing 55 per cent. of the shrapnel shells, 42 per cent. of the 4.5 shells, 27 per cent. of the six-inch, 15 per cent. of the eight-inch, and 16 per cent. of the 9.2 shells used by the British armies. In addition to the expenditure on shells the Imperial Munitions Board has spent nearly \$300,000,000 in Canada on other materials and equipment for the British Government, including airplanes, ships, chemicals, &c. Included in this was the establishment and operation of a national plant at Toronto for the construction of airplanes, of which more than 2,500 were produced, the plant latterly producing

bombing planes for the United States Navy.

SHIPBUILDING

Some \$64,614,000 was spent by the Imperial Munitions Board in the various shipbuilding activities carried on during the war. Forty-five steel vessels were built to the order of the Imperial Munitions Board, the Department of Marine, and other private contracts during the year 1918. These vessels had an approximate deadweight carrying capacity of 208,167 tons; 58 wooden vessels with an approximate deadweight carrying capacity of 159,200 tons were also provided. Under the present Government shipbuilding program contracts have been authorized for 39 ships of 3,400 to 10,500 tons with a total deadweight tonnage of 233,350. These ships have been or will be built at ten different Canadian shipyards. During the war the Department of Naval Service arranged for the building of the following vessels: For the Imperial Government, 12 submarines, 60 armed trawlers, 100 armed drifters, 550 coastal patrol motor boats, and 24 steel lighters for use in Mesopotamia; for the French Government, 6 armed trawlers and 36 coastal motor patrol boats; for the Italian Government, 6 submarines; for the Russian, 1 large armed icebreaker.

VOLUNTARY WAR EFFORT

The result of the campaigns for voluntary contribution during the war all over the Dominion always exceeded expectations. An approximate total of voluntary contributions from the citizens of Canada for various war purposes would amount to something over \$95,000,000. Of this total nearly \$43,000,000 was subscribed to the Canadian Patriotic Fund, about \$4,000,000 to the Manitoba Patriotic Fund, \$7,771,000 in cash to the Canadian Red Cross Society up to Dec. 7, 1918, while gifts in supplies reached an estimated value of \$13,500,000.

The sum of \$6,000,000 was subscribed to the British Red Cross Society up to Dec. 31, 1917, and over \$3,000,000 in cash and supplies was contributed to the Belgian Relief Fund. Contributions from

all parts of Canada to the Y. M. C. A. for military work amounted to \$4,574,821. Gifts from the Dominion and Provincial Governments to the British Government total \$5,469,319. To this should be added miscellaneous gifts from various sources and for many objects, the value of which is conservatively estimated to be in the neighborhood of \$8,000,000.

PRESENT FISCAL PROBLEM

But while Canada has given lavishly of men and money to the allied cause, the war has created serious problems which will have to be solved by the Government during the life of the present Parliament. [Spring of 1919.] Hon. F. B. Carvell in a recent statement estimated that the Dominion's debt would total \$2,000,000,000 before the end of the year. This, he said would entail an annual expense to Canada of \$110,000,000 as long as the present generation of Canadians lives.

The cost of pensions in 1919 will amount to \$30,000,000 and eventually to \$50,000,000. The work in connection with the new Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment will come to \$25,000,000. These, in addition to war gratuities, pay and allowances, upkeep of military hospitals, &c., will create a total of \$185,000,000, which will have to be met this year as a result of war activities, in addition to \$125,000,000 which will be required to run the affairs of the country.

The income to meet this large amount totals \$195,000,000, which is made up of \$140,000,000 from customs receipts, \$25,000,000 from excise, and \$30,000,000 from income and business profits taxation. The problem for the Acting Premier, Sir Thomas White, during the present session of Parliament will be to find the extra \$115,000,000.

The citizens of the Dominion are about to shoulder additional heavy burdens of taxation, but the fact that Canada has never failed to meet the demands made upon her during the trying years of war may be sufficient inspiration to help her meet and successfully solve the tremendous problems of peaceful reconstruction.

Rebuilding Disabled Soldiers

Scientific Methods Adopted by the United States Government to Make Crippled Men Self-Supporting

AMERICAN soldiers variously disabled in the European war have been pouring back into this country, and others are constantly arriving. Men on crutches, with only one leg, men with sleeveless arms, men whose burned-out eyes are hidden by black glasses are encountered on our streets. In some, as they pass, they arouse mere curiosity and interest; in others commiseration. But pity, certainly, is the last thing they desire.

Under the authority and direction of Congress complete arrangements for rehabilitation and vocational training of disabled men have been made by the Federal Board of Vocational Education. President Wilson, in a letter to this board, made it plain that the Government and the hundred million people whom it represents stand squarely back of our disabled fighting men. He wrote:

This nation has no more solemn obligation than healing the hurts of our wounded and restoring our disabled men to civil life and opportunity. The Government recognizes this, and the fulfillment of the obligation is going forward fully and generously. The medical divisions of the War and Navy Departments are rendering all aid that skill and science make possible; the Federal Board for Vocational Education is commanded by law to develop and adapt the remaining capabilities of each man so that he may again take his place in the ranks of our great civilian army. The co-operation and interest of our citizens are essential to this program of duty, justice, and humanity. It is not a charity. It is merely the payment of a draft of honor which the United States of America accepted when it selected these men and took them in their health and strength to fight the battles of the nation. They have fought the good fight; they have kept the faith, and they have won. Now we keep faith with them, and every citizen is indorser on the general obligation.

THE NUMBER DISABLED

The number of cases of total blindness among all the allied forces has been

calculated as 7,000, with probably a considerable addition to that number from the 30,000 patients undergoing special treatment. Lieut. Col. Strong of the Army Medical Corps informed the House Military Affairs Committee on Jan. 23, 1919, that 3,000 of the total American combat force of 1,500,000 had lost either an arm or a leg. Figures given by Dr. James Munroe before the American Institute of Mining Engineers on Feb. 18 estimated the number of disabled soldiers then in the United States at 50,000. Of these, he said, between 5 and 10 per cent. had lost limbs and 41 per cent. had contracted tuberculosis. These estimates, he stated, were given on the authority of the Surgeon General, and were made public in an address on the "Use of Cripples in Industry." Subsequent official advices gave the total of major amputation cases in the United States to the end of March as 3,034, a figure which harmonizes approximately with the estimate of Dr. Munroe. Of these 3,034 there were 600 arm amputations and 1,708 leg amputations. The remaining 726 were of hands, feet, and two or more fingers. A conservative deduction from all the figures given above would indicate that there have been about 100,000 cases of disablement, including both those returned from overseas and those still in hospitals abroad; that 20,000 were victims of tuberculosis, and approximately 3,000 had lost limbs, in whole or in part; that some 25,000 are now [April, 1910] in the United States suffering from various kinds of disablement, including blindness; and another 50,000 still abroad.

Several thousand disabled men are now about to receive training under jurisdiction of the Federal Board and at the expense of the Government. It is not merely the men who have lost arms or legs that the Government is offering to retrain and restore to self-supporting activity; the Federal Board and the

various hospitals offer aid to every man regardless of his disability who is entitled to Government compensation. It is realized that of the many thousands of men suffering from the effects of shell shock, gassing, shrapnel, gunshot wounds, tuberculosis, bronchitis, heart and nervous diseases, some may not be able to re-enter their former occupations.

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

At the International Conference on Rehabilitation recently held in New York City, it was shown that, with the exception of Canada, the United States was the only Government that had officially organized to fit disabled soldiers for further industrial usefulness. In France, England, Belgium, and Italy this work, though recognized as one of the first of the national construction problems, has been carried on by private philanthropical enterprise. The scope of America's plans for rehabilitation is of wide extent. The Government's promise to the young soldiers sent abroad to risk life and limb for an ideal was threefold: physical care; compensation for injury, and re-training and re-educating to assume again a place in the economic life of the country. To fulfill the first promise, the best surgeons were obtained and sent to France, or installed in this country in modern hospitals, equipped with the latest scientific appliances to cure the sick and wounded. The Bureau of Compensation and the Bureau of War Risk Compensation, which provided a pension and insurance payment, covered the second promise. The third pledge of occupational rehabilitation is now in process of being made good.

The main agency through which this work is being accomplished is the Federal Board of Vocational Education. In June, 1918, by the Vocational Rehabilitation act, Congress turned over to this board the entire task of re-educating and placing in employment the discharged soldiers, sailors, and marines physically incapacitated from carrying on the pursuits of civilian life. On March 2, it was announced that 12,000 men were registered with this board; a few days later, 13,000. The board, by the terms of the

original bill, had been provided with a fund of \$2,000,000 to carry on its work; of this sum, \$250,000 was allotted for renting, remodeling, repairing, and equipping buildings needed, and \$545,000 for tuition. But it was found that the States and colleges were ready and willing to give tuition free, and this left a surplus from both portions of the fund which might be otherwise utilized. The Bankhead bill introduced in Congress provided that \$700,000 of this money be transferred, with the object of applying it to sending out agents to the various hospitals in the country, of which the army and navy now have 120, to talk fully with the men in the hospitals about their future plans, and help them in their choice of new work. That some such method of getting in touch with hospital cases was needed was indicated by the fact that many disabled soldiers and sailors had been discharged from the hospitals without learning of the opportunities the Government offered them. The new fund would afford the disabled financial assistance for travel, lodging, subsistence, and other expenses of these men while under investigation of the board to determine their eligibility for training.

WOUNDED MEN ON PAY

Under the system administered by the Federal Board wounded men may take courses which range from six months' shop training to a full four years' college course. Compensation allowed during the period of training equals the monthly sum determined by the war risk insurance law, or the sum of the last month's salary for active service, if that be greater. No less than \$65 is paid to single men, or men living alone while in training, exclusive of dependents' aid, or \$75 to those who live with dependents. Arrangements have been made with colleges, technical schools, business houses, and manufacturing concerns, with adequate provision for instruction under proper guarantees and supervision. The progress of those who enter college is made known to the board through reports from the Faculty. Both in college and business houses the men under training are on the same footing as all others.

To the families and friends of the disabled the Government has issued an appeal for encouragement; to the employers of America it has issued a call for co-operation, which reads in part:

Charity is not needed. For the first time in the history of this or any other nation, Uncle Sam has put his war pensions on a proper basis as an insurance obligation. Extensive preparations have been made for taking care of the disabled boys, not as beggars but as self-respecting men. This is a substantial return in gratitude. However, the best return the country can make for the service these injured men have rendered is to give them their opportunity to perform, in the years after the war, the same quality of national service they have rendered during the war. In this work the help of the employer is indispensable. The Federal Board calls upon every employer to aid in the intelligent discharge of this task.

A similar appeal for co-operation has been circulated by the Government among the workers of the country.

An analysis of the first 1,200 cases registered with the Federal Board made by Dr. Charles A. Prosser, Director of the Federal Board, showed that 245 of those who had appealed for assistance selected as their future vocations agriculture, 274 commercial pursuits, 372 industry and trade, 257 professions, 45 courses in Americanization, and 22 unclassified.

METHOD OF REHABILITATION

That the disabled soldier may overcome his handicap has been proved by hundreds already retrained. Men who have suffered amputation have become successful farmers, bee keepers, tailors, welders, and professional men. The deaf have taken agricultural and mechanical training. The blind have been taught to work as typists, poultrymen, and assemblers in machine shops. Outdoor occupations have opened a path to the tuberculous. Sixty-three distinct courses of training are reported, embracing agricultural, commercial, technical, and professional choices, with some cases of specialized work in jewelry and architecture. Forty-four institutions are represented in the training schools.

Wounded soldiers are reconstructed mentally as well as physically in the army hospitals, under the direction of the

Surgeon General. Reconstruction aids are of two branches. Physio-therapy includes especially hydro-therapy, electro-therapy, mechano-therapy, and massage. Massage has overcome paralysis in many cases. Occupational reconstruction is taught by teachers of handicraft, commercial subjects, elementary subjects, and music. Commercial subjects are learned by many men who have lost an arm or leg. The making of baskets, beadwork, weaving, modeling, and embroidery help both mentally and physically. The mere pulling of reeds in a basket may straighten a warped and twisted hand. At the Fort Snelling Hospital, when a patient's injuries are such that he must select a new vocation, his choice is aided by a Psychological Bureau, and the Federal Bureau, when he leaves the hospital, provides re-educational facilities.

What the Government is doing to fit the returned disabled soldier for a normal position in industry is strikingly evidenced in the various institutions which have undertaken this kind of work. Among these may be mentioned the Walter Reed General Hospital, near Washington; the New York Debarcation Hospital, the Red Cross Institute for Crippled and Disabled Men, and the United States General Hospital at Fort Snelling, Minnesota.

A report published by the American Red Cross Department of Civilian Relief on Feb. 7 lists some ninety-six base hospitals in twenty-four French centres, seven American Red Cross Military Hospitals in France and five in England, and eleven American Red Cross Hospitals in France. In these institutions the American wounded and sick still abroad are variously distributed. [For the American Hospital at Beaune see following page.]

METHODS OF INSTRUCTION

The objects sought at such an institution as the Walter Reed Hospital, above referred to, have been explained by Major B. T. Baldwin, Chief of the Educational Service, as curative and vocational, including the physical restoration of the disabled man, the realization on his part that he is again a

social being and must function as such, and the educational development of the patient while confined to the hospital. In the first category falls the teaching of a man who has lost one arm to use the other, and his equipping with an artificial limb, with special appliances suited to the man's special need. Major Baldwin says:

The reconstruction of disabled men begins at the bedside. There are fifteen young women working here on bedside occupational therapy. They are giving work to patients in early convalescent stages. They help the men develop the proper attitude toward themselves and toward their future outlook in life. The patient may learn basketry, weaving, wood carving, modeling or other lines of hand work. His chief interest is taken away from his discomforts or his disability and he is made to feel some sense of responsibility toward himself and others. When he is strong enough he is taught some of the more difficult handicrafts or industrial arts—telegraphy, automobile construction, academic instruction, the principles of electricity, &c. No time is lost in the work of physical and mental reconstruction, and after living in the atmosphere of the Walter Reed Hospital the patient begins to feel as if he were just as useful an individual as any of his brothers on the outside.

WONDERS OF SURGERY

In their endeavors to return wounded men to something like their former condition army surgeons have accomplished marvels, and surgery has developed in the course of the war to a point which ordinarily would have taken many years to attain.

Major Duval, the celebrated French surgeon, before the American Clinical Congress, set forth some of the remarkable wartime achievements, especially in lung surgery, with the development of which he is largely credited. He told of the success of the new technique whereby, after the thorax has been opened, a bullet removed from the lung, and the wound cleansed, the cavity is closed over, leaving open only an "anatomical valve" through which the air is exhausted from the pleural cavity with an aspirating apparatus. The valve then is closed, and, as a rule, in from twelve hours to four days the lung inflates itself once more and functions normally.

In New York—in the debarkation hospital that used to be a large department store—a battered American soldier was being examined. Over his damaged arm hung a white plate. And through the white plate Captain Charles Whalen, the X-ray expert of the establishment, was looking at the bone. He said it had been well set. Swinging the plate a foot to the left, the wounded lad's ribs were promptly brought into view. And there, expanding and contracting rhythmically, was his heart, and his lungs, as they filled and emptied, were visible. This contrivance by which the secrets of the body are bared to the human eye is the fluoroscope. An old story to doctors, it still indicates the wider field into which the various methods of surgery have expanded since the war.

April, 1919.

The American Hospital at Beaune

WHEN the Army Medical Corps was confronted with the problem of choosing a site in France for a hospital centre, it went to Beaune, a beautiful village in the Côte-d'Or region, where a small hospital built by the Duke of Burgundy in 1443 had become famous throughout France for its cures.

There, in the midst of vineyards famous for their Burgundy wine and under the shadow of Côte-d'Or Mountain, a gigantic hospital sprang up in a few months to overshadow the little institution at its side. It, too, already is fa-

mous for its surgery and its cures of ailments. The little American cemetery among the trees has only 150 American graves, representing the deaths among about 15,000 who have passed through the hospital.

Surgeons say that in all France there are not two other hospitals to compare with these unique institutions. The American Army Hospital covers a square mile of territory, has 600 buildings of a permanent type, with accommodations for almost 25,000 patients, and is more than fifteen times the size of Bellevue

Hospital, the largest civilian hospital in New York City.

The American hospital is a model city in itself, and it is to remain in France after the American Army has been withdrawn, as a permanent memorial to the co-operation of the two republics in this war. Its facilities will be able to care for about 30,000 French patients when the Americans have left. Instead of being a single hospital, this vast institution became a series of ten hospitals, each able to care for more than 2,000 patients, while the big convalescent camp, capable of caring for more than 5,000 patients, became also a baseball field, a football gridiron, and a general sports centre to aid in the rehabilitation and convalescence of wounded men. Each of these units had its own administration buildings, kitchens, mess halls, bathhouses, operating rooms, laboratories, officers' and nurses' barracks, in addition to twenty separate buildings for patients.

One of the units in the institution is a laundry capable of doing all the work for 30,000 persons, and since it was started it has been doing the work for approximately that number. In addition to the work for its staff and patients of about 15,000 in December, 1918, it served the wooden barracks hospital near

Beaune, where about 17,000 patients were being cared for. The estimate of Lieut. Col. Henry Keep, who planned the work, was that all the units of this institution, including the laundry, at the prices of labor and materials in the United States, would have cost \$6,000,000.

All the work was done by the American Army engineers who directed the construction of the other army buildings in France, and their force of men comprised about 5,000 American negro troops, with some French civilian labor and some Chinese. Railways were run to the tract and concrete mixers were kept going day and night until the last unit was finished.

Each of the ten units of the hospital has a staff of about thirty officers of the American Medical Corps, ninety-six nurses, and 200 enlisted men of the Army Medical Corps or the Sanitary Corps. The units have their own commanding officers and surgical staffs, but the entire hospital is under the direction of Colonel Clarence J. Manly of the Army Medical Corps, who has his own staff of surgeons and inspectors. He has been in the service more than twenty years.

April, 1919.

French Teachers Killed in the War

Official statistics published in Paris early in 1919 showed that 6,227 French school teachers had given their lives for their country during the war. This number includes 259 Professors of Literature, Science, Medicine, and Law at Paris or the provincial universities, 460 teachers or Inspectors in the secondary schools, (lycées and collèges,) 5,500 schoolmasters and pupil teachers of the Ecoles Normales, and eight professors of the great schools of higher education, such as the Ecole Normale Supérieure and the Institut Catholique. A similar proportion of students died in the trenches, but the figures were still incomplete in this regard. The list mentioned 350 writers, journalists, and men of letters who had fallen.

The Kaiser's Dismissal of Bismarck

A Historic Episode Described by Wilhelm II. in a Private Letter to Emperor Francis Joseph

A LETTER of considerable historical interest, written by the German Kaiser to the Emperor Francis Joseph of Austria-Hungary and found in the State archives at Vienna, has been published in the *Oesterreichische Rundschau* by Professor Hans Schlitter. This letter, which is a striking revelation of the Kaiser's psychology in his relations with Prince Bismarck, resulting in the latter's dismissal, is given below:

Berlin, April 3, 1890.

My Dear Friend: In view of the intimate and cordial friendship which unites our countries, and chiefly both of us, and in view of the great confidence which you have always shown specially to me, I regard it as my duty to give you frankly and clearly a confidential survey of the development and final accomplishment of the retirement of Prince von Bismarck. I do it all the more gladly because it is almost impossible for an outside observer to extract a palpable and intelligible kernel from the confusion of the assumptions and conjectures of the press, coupled with semi-official and demi-semi-official entrefiletts. My account professes to be only a simple description or collation of facts, without polemics or criticism, which I leave to you. I will say at once in advance that it was no question of foreign policy which was the occasion of differences of opinion between the Prince and me, but purely internal, and, for the most part tactical, points of view.

When the coal strike broke out in May of last year, and quickly assumed great dimensions, threatening the whole State in its entire economic life, naturally, after the usual measures of safety had been taken by the dislocation of troops and so on, investigations were set on foot as to its causes. In the State Ministry there were deliberations as to which for the time being I did not trouble myself, while I, through my friend—and especially through my tutor, Privy Councilor Hinzpeter, who is a Westphalian and lived on the spot—had inquiries and researches made as to the relation of employer to workman, condition of industry, and so on. Soon, however, the Ministers begged me to come to the deliberations, as the Prince was quite intractable and the negotiations were not moving a step forward.

I appeared and took part. It at once appeared that the Prince took up a standpoint diametrically opposed to that of myself and

the Ministers. He wanted the strike to "rage and burn itself thoroughly out," without hindrance all over the country. He rejected every idea of intervention by the power of the State, and expressed the opinion that that was the business of our industry, which must be allowed to fight out its private feuds. I, on the contrary, was of the view that this movement had already gone beyond the bounds of the private conflict of a branch of industry, and was in agreement with the entire State Ministry that, if the affair was not quickly taken in hand by the King, endless injury and misfortune would befall the country. Accordingly, the old officials, whose loss of nerve had made the confusion still greater, were dismissed and replaced by the best initiated forces. As soon as that had been done, I received the workmen's and the mine owners' deputations with the success of which you know. This enterprise, too, was disapproved by the Prince, who obviously went even further and further on to the side of the big industrials and regarded the workmen's movement as in part even revolutionary and as a wholly unjustifiable one, which must be checked and cured only by blood and iron, that is to say, with cartridges and repeating rifles.

A LABOR QUARREL

After the close of this affair the Prince retired into the country, where he remained eight or nine months, till Jan. 25 of this year. During this period he had as good as no intercourse with the country, and in connection with the suggested protection of labor only had touch with old Kommerzienrat Baare—one of our biggest employers—who was the most sworn enemy of this idea. This time I employed to have material assembled as to legislation for the protection of the workmen, got myself posted up from all sides as to the position of the workmen, their possible and impossible desires, got into touch with the Reichstag through its heads, and so on. In the Autumn I reached the clear perception and conviction that time was precious, and peremptorily demanded an early dealing with the law for the protection of the workmen; that the Social Democrats must not be allowed to steal a march on us and inscribe this affair on their banners, as, according to precise information, they intended to do. Consequently, in the course of the Autumn and down to January, on three different occasions, I had the Prince first begged, then requested, and finally informed that it was

my wish that he should take in hand a bill to amend the law with regard to workmen's protection and lay before me an order for publication. He refused this three times in a very curt way; he didn't want it, and was opposed to it in principle, and there was nothing to be done.

Thereupon I sat down and in two nights worked out a memorandum, which gave a description of the conditions of our industry in historical form, and at the same time indicated a series of the chief points which, in the view of all, contained the chief evils that must at once be tackled by legislation. As soon as I had finished the work I called a Ministerial Council and the Prince from Friedrichsruh. During this time were taking place in the Reichstag the debates on the Socialist law, which were very unedifying, and during which the Kartell parties, driven by the unbending stubbornness of the Chancellor, went into opposition. They had undertaken to carry the bill for him if he would have it announced that the expulsion clause would be "taken into consideration"—not abandoned. On Jan. 25 I held the Council of the Ministers of State and developed my views with the aid of my memorandum, and I closed with the wish that the Ministry should, under the Chairmanship of the Chancellor, deliberate my points, including that with respect to the calling of an international conference, and then submit to me two rescripts about it for publication.

A discussion followed, in which the Prince at once emphasized anew his hostile attitude of the Spring, and described the whole affair as impracticable. The Ministers were so terrified of him that none of them would express themselves on the subject. Finally I came also to the expulsion clause in the Socialist law, which was to be passed or thrown out on the following day, and most earnestly begged the Prince to make it easy for the Government parties, and to save the Reichstag from such a miserable close with a discord, by holding out a prospect, at the final vote, of the clause being "taken into consideration"; at the same time mentioning that I had been directly and most earnestly petitioned to that effect by men true to King and Government.

"FLUNG HIS RESIGNATION"

As answer he flung—it pains me to use the expression—his resignation at my feet in the most disrespectful manner and with harsh (*dürren*) words. The Ministry kept silence, and left me in the lurch. Naturally, I did not grant his request. The Prince had his way, the law was rejected, and, amid general embitterment and discontent, of which an assortment came my way, on the grounds of (*unter der firma*) slackness, &c., the Reichstag broke up, to spread these feelings through the country as a preparation for the new elections. The direct consequences of

this we now see before us in their fullest scope.

Naturally, I did not accept. From that moment you can probably appreciate my deep pain, as I was obliged to realize that the Prince did not wish to go my way. For me there now began an awful time. While the rescripts were being discussed he tried to introduce all sorts of other matters, and continually irritated the Ministers. When he finally brought the two rescripts for signature, he told me he was absolutely opposed to them, that they would mean misfortune and destruction for the Fatherland, and that he advised against them. If, notwithstanding, I should sign them, he would only co-operate in this policy so long as he could reconcile that with his views; if that was impossible he would go. The rescripts were published, and the enormous success which they had taught the completely astonished Prince that he had been quite in the dark (*auf einem Holzwege*), that his whole opposition had been useless, and that I had been in the right.

And now came the preparation for the invitation to the conference, the calling of the Council of State under my Chairmanship. He at once commenced against me a petty coulisse war, not always carried on with honorable means, which grieved me most bitterly, but which I accepted tranquilly. On the one hand, I was too proud to descend to that; on the other, I still had too much love for the man I had idolized. Soon, however, conflicts became more numerous in all quarters. He suddenly prevented the Ministers from reporting to me direct, by dragging out an order which had been buried for thirty years and forgotten. He took from the Imperial Secretaries of State all their work, and wanted to do and countersign everything himself. At the same time, his health got worse from week to week, he could no longer sleep, his nerves gave way. He got convulsions of weeping at night, and even at audiences. His doctor declared that if this situation lasted another three weeks the Prince would die of a stroke.

Finally, toward the end of February, the Prince declared to me at an audience that, with his nerves and his health as they were, he could not go on any longer, and begged for partial relief from affairs. I begged him to make me proposals entirely in accordance with his will and wishes, as I wished to avoid even the appearance that I was sending him away or longed for his departure. After long negotiations, he came to an agreement with the chief of my Civil Cabinet, whom he had sought out for the purpose, that he would lay down the Presidency of the State Ministry and retain only the Chancellorship and the Foreign Office. A few weeks later he wished to give up that, too, and retire completely about Feb. 20 or the beginning of March. With a heavy heart I agreed to his proposals, and accordingly an order was drawn up in consonance with his own state-

ments, and got ready with the exception of the date, the right to determine which he had reserved to himself.

He expressed himself completely satisfied with this solution, and told me that he would now communicate these facts to the Council of Ministers. Two days later he came to report, and told me in curt words, to my astonishment, that he was not even thinking of going—that he would remain. As ground, he replied to my surprised question, that the Ministry of State had not, on learning of his departure, at once begged him to stay in all circumstances, and that the gentlemen, at the same time, had made "too delighted faces." From this he had concluded that the gentlemen wanted to get rid of him, and the old spirit of opposition had revived in him; and he would now certainly stay "only to annoy the Ministers." So he closed. I could only answer that I was very glad to know that he was still at my side, but hoped that the increasing burden of work and excitement would not injure his health.

THE STRUGGLE BEGUN

From that day the struggle broke loose. At every audience the Prince attempted to dismay the gentlemen whom he had himself selected twelve years ago and trained, and attempted to force on me a mass dismissal, which I did not acquiesce in. The time of the conference was approaching, and he tried, by all the means of diplomacy, to prevent it from taking place. When at last the sittings of the Council of State passed off brilliantly, and the minutes showed conclusively that with my above-mentioned memorandum I had hit the nail on the head, envy of his poor young Emperor overcame him, and he decided to destroy his successes.

He attempted first, behind my back, to induce individual diplomats to report home against the conference, and finally tried to persuade the Swiss Minister, Dr. Arnold Roth, to request the Berne Government not to abandon its conference in my favor, so that my conference might collapse. The Swiss, a fine, honest fellow, who accidentally is a good acquaintance of mine, disgusted at such treacherous, unpatriotic conduct toward the German Emperor, telegraphed at once to the Berne Government that if the official abandonment of the Swiss Conference was not in his hands within twelve hours he would retire, but would also say why. The next morning the desired announcement was there, and my conference was saved.

As this plan had failed, the Prince flung himself upon another. The new Reichstag had been elected; he was disgusted with the elections, and wanted to smash it up (*sprengen*) as soon as possible. For that the Socialist law was again to serve. He proposed to me that a fresh and still more drastic Socialist law should be introduced; it would be rejected by the Reichstag, which he would then dissolve. The nation was already excited; out of irritation the Socialists would

get up riots, there would be revolutionary turmoils, and then I was to shoot into it all without any nonsense (*ordentlich dazwischen schiessen*) and let the cannon and rifles play. Thereby—that was his secret intention—the conference of the labor protection law would be lost, and, as an election manoeuvre or a Utopia, would be for long rendered impossible.

I did not acquiesce, but declared straight out that that was impossible advice to give a young neophyte King—who was under all kinds of suspicions—that he should answer the petitions and wishes of his laboring subjects with quick-firers and cartridges. At that he was very angry; declared that it must come to shooting in the end, and therefore the sooner the better, and if I would not do it, then he gave in his resignation then and there. There I was again faced with a crisis. I sent for the leaders of the Kartell parties and put to them the question whether or not I should bring in a Socialist law and smash up the Reichstag. Unanimously they declared themselves in the negative. They said that the rescripts and the Council of State were already having a tranquilizing effect, and the conference would do the same. There was no question of riots or revolutionary movements, and the labor protection legislation would be passed like play by the Reichstag, which would behave quite sensibly if the bills laid before it were not too extreme. They empowered me to repeat this to the Prince as the opinion of their electors, and to warn him against any provocation (*Briiskierung*) with Socialist bills, as he would not get a single vote for them.

The Prince came, and, full of anxiety as to the issue of the conversation, I let him know that I could not accede to his wish to bring in the law. Thereupon he declared that the whole thing was a matter of indifference to him. And if I didn't want to introduce the law there was an end of it. The whole attitude which he had taken up toward me in this matter only a few days earlier had vanished from his memory. And he let drop like a trifle an affair over which he had kept the Ministers, me, and the Government parties in the greatest excitement for four weeks, and for the sake of which he wanted to dismiss Ministers and conjure up conflicts.

UNPARALLELED EXCITEMENT

Through these machinations and intrigues, friction, and eggings-on in all possible spheres, also through the failure of his little "embassades," the Prince had got into an unparalleled state of excitement. The Ministers had to put up with outbursts of anger and rudeness of the grossest kind till they refused to work any further. Affairs stood still and accumulated; nothing more was completed. No project, however great its urgency, could be laid before me, as direct reports were forbidden to the Ministers. N. B.—Behind my back. Everything had to be submitted to him, and what he didn't

want he simply rejected and prevented from being brought to me. There arose in the circles of officialdom a general discontent, which even spread to Parliamentary circles. Moreover, I received through my body physician news of the great anxiety of his doctor that the Prince was in such a state that he was approaching a complete collapse, which would end with nerve fever and a stroke. All my attempts in any way to procure the Prince relief by greater participation in affairs he interpreted as attempts to force him out. Gentlemen and councilors whom I sent for fell, for that reason, into disgrace with him, and came under the suspicion of intriguing against him.

Finally it came to a crash, the accumulated electricity was discharged on my "guilty head." The Prince, fired by the love of conflict and guided by the motives adduced above, prepared on the quiet, and to the dismay of all the initiated, and in spite of my opposing orders, a campaign against the new Reichstag. All were to be irritated and whipped. First, the Kartell parties tramped, and then the Socialists annoyed, till the whole Reichstag went up into the air, and H. M. was compelled, nolens volens, to shout. Add to that the interview with Windthorst, arranged by the Jew, Bleichröder, which liberated a storm of indignation in the Fatherland, and which was semi-officially surrounded with a mystery that permitted all possible conclusions. Moreover, the attempt was made to raise the appearance that I had known about it and approved it, whereas I learned the fact only three days later through the newspapers and eager inquiries which I received from all sides.

STORM BREAKS LOOSE

When, three days after this affair, which was continually spreading, and began to have a very unpleasant aspect for the Prince, I had a meeting with him, he brought the talk around to Windthorst's visit, and represented it as if he had, as it were, unexpectedly appeared in his anteroom and surprised him. I had learned definitely, however, that Bleichröder had arranged this interview for him, with his consent. When I told the Prince this, and begged that he would inform me of such important matters by some kind of a billet or oral communication by a secretary, the storm broke loose. Without any regard for courtesy or consideration, he told me he would not allow himself to be kept by me in leading strings; that he forbade this once and for all; that I had no idea of parliamentary life; that in such things it was not my business to give him any kind of orders; and so on and so on. When he had at last worked off his rage I tried to make it clear to him that here there was no question of orders, but that what I wanted was not to learn afterward through the press of such im-

portant steps—that in the end might have as a consequence for me binding decisions from which I could not escape—but to hear it from him, so that I could make my verse accordingly.

But it was no good. When I described to him what commotion and confusion this visit had caused among the people, still excited by the elections, and (suggested) that this could not be his intention, there escaped from him the following words: "On the contrary, it is my intention. There must be such complete confusion and such a hullabaloo in the country that nobody knows what the Emperor is driving at with his policy." As I thereupon stated that that was not at all my intention, but that my policy must be open and as clear as daylight to my subjects, he declared that he had nothing more to say, and roughly flung his resignation at my feet. I did not react to this third scene in the course of six weeks, and passed over to the Council of Ministers and to the order by which he had prevented the direct reports. He declared that he did not trust "his" Ministers; they were, behind his back, bringing the things which "he" could not approve, and therefore he had had to teach them a lesson.

SEPARATION INÉVITABLE

When I then pointed out to him that therein lay a grave insult to me, his so faithful and warmly affectionate sovereign, whom he accused of secret intrigues behind his back, he would not admit it. He would, however, if I demanded it, at once send me, in the course of the day, the order, so that it might be canceled; after all, it mattered nothing. When I once more—solely with the object of taking from the obviously seriously ill and nervously strained man a portion of his work and cares—begged him to let me share more in the business, and to initiate me and let me listen when important decisions were taken, he refused decisively, with the remark that he must have his resolutions already firmly fixed before he came to me.

In deep pain and with a sore heart I now saw clearly that the demon of the love of power (*Herrschsucht*) had seized this sublime great man, and that he used every matter, whatever its nature might be, for his struggle against the Emperor. He wanted to do everything and rule alone, and not even submit it to the Emperor. From that moment it was clear to me that we must part, if everything was not to be morally ruined and perish. God is my witness how many nights I wrestled in prayer, and entreated that the heart of this man might be softened, and that I might be spared the terrible end of letting him leave me. But it was not to be. As two days later the order had not been sent in by the Prince to be canceled, I had him asked if he would not send it. He replied that he would never think of doing so; he needed it against "his" Ministers.

There my patience gave way, my old Hohen-

zollern family pride rose up. It was now necessary to force the old pighead (Trotzkopf) to obedience or to bring about a separation; for now the question was whether the Emperor or the Chancellor was to remain on top. I had him once more asked to send in the revocation of the order and to accommodate himself to my wishes and requests previously expressed to him, which he flatly refused. With that the drama was at an end; the rest is known to you.

The man whom I had idolized all my life, for whose sake I had endured veritable hell torments of moral persecution in my parents' house; the man for whom, after grandpapa's death, I alone had flung myself into the breach in order to keep him; for whom I had brought down upon myself the anger of my dying father and the unquenchable hatred of my mother—he had no thought whatever for all that, and stepped over me because I would not do his will. What a dagger-stab for my heart! His boundless contempt for human nature, which he had for all, even for those who worked themselves to death for him; played him a nasty trick when he also regarded his master as nothing and wanted to humiliate him to the position of his henchman. When he took his leave, and accused me of having driven him away, I kept silent and said nothing; and when he was outside, I broke down—I am ashamed to say it—in a convulsion of tears.

From this long opus you can estimate what sort of a Winter I have behind me and whether I have acted wrongly. As a gallant and faithful friend the Grand Duke of Baden stood by me during the last difficult days, and my attitude secured his complete approval.

The successor is, after Bismarck, the greatest German that we have, devoted to me, and in character as firm as a rock. You will be delighted with him when you see him. Your true friend,

WILHELM R. I.

A LATER EPISODE

Further correspondence between the Kaiser and his Austrian royal cousin relative to a projected trip by Bismarck to Vienna and his contemplated interview with the Emperor Franz Josef was published in the same periodical subsequently. This correspondence consists of two letters—the one written by the Kaiser asking Franz Josef not to receive Bismarck and the Austrian Emperor's reply. The Kaiser's letter reads as follows:

Potsdam, June 12, 1892.

My Dear Friend: My firm confidence in your friendship and affection, which have so often been shown me, occasion me to submit to you a matter which is very near to my heart.

At the end of the month Prince Bismarck

will arrive in Vienna, firstly to marry his son, and secondly to receive the ovation which has been ordered in advance by his admirers. (You know, too, that one of his chef d'oeuvres, the Secret Treaty—a double fonds—with Russia, which was concluded behind your back, was dissolved by me.) Since the time of his retirement the Prince has, in the most perfidious manner, carried on war against me, Caprivi, my Ministers, and so on, in the press and in foreign countries. In doing so he is supported by many bona fide admirers and many enemies of Caprivi. Quite unintelligibly he throws his strongest bombs at the Triple Alliance, his own work, of which he was so proud, and above all against our firmer solidarity and co-operation with you and your splendid people. His positively disgusting attitude toward you on the question of the commercial treaty is already too well known to be worth wasting words over. But now that all his attacks and attempts to cause a commotion appear to be paralyzed, he has let loose the "longing for reconciliation" with me, and with this is once more stirring up dust and feelings.

It is no longer necessary to assure you that this is merely a fresh "swindle" of his, which is only counting on the love of sensation and the curiosity of the imbecile (blöde) masses. He has not made the faintest attempt of an indication to me that he wishes to approach me and say "peccavi," and with all his cunning and art tries to make out that I should be the one to give way and so appear before the world. The chief point of his program in this affair, he intends to be an audience of you. Most impudently, ignoring my Court and the Empress, he goes to Dresden and Vienna, in order to present himself there immediately and play the part of the faithful old man.

In conversation with a personality who pointed out to him the tactlessness of this enterprise, and emphasized your attitude toward him since the changes, he replied deprecatingly, "Ah, Kalnoy will soon bring him round." I should like, therefore, in my own interest and in that of my Government, to beg you as a true friend not to make the situation in my own country more difficult for me by receiving this disobedient subject before he has approached me and said "peccavi." I have told those people who are ever ready to mediate that I expect from the Prince an unambiguous letter, in which he makes the request once more to be regarded with favor, and that before this is done I will take no step. He has not done this, but, on the contrary, has said to third persons that he would only have a formal "reconciliation," since, as in the past, he reserved the right to criticise me.

Therefore, in accordance with this state of things, I beg you not to receive the Prince. With one thousand greetings to the Empress, your true friend and cousin,

WILHELM.

FRANZ JOSEF'S ANSWER

To the foregoing letter Emperor Franz Josef made the following reply:

Vienna, June 15, 1892.

My Dear Friend: In your valued letter of the 12th of this month, which I hasten to answer, I see a fresh proof of confiding affection and friendship, which I reciprocate with all my heart, and am very glad to put into action.

With regard to the occasion for your letter, the impending arrival of Prince Bismarck in Vienna, you know that, in spite of many experiences with the Prince, which were difficult to forget, my intercourse with him down to his leaving your service was always

open and friendly. His attitude in Friedrichsrüh, especially toward Austria, would not have been enough to decide me to refuse an audience asked for as a simple act of mutual courtesy. As, however, in view of the circumstance that the audience, if granted, would render the position of yourself and your Government more difficult in your country, you attach so high an importance to my not receiving the Prince, it goes without saying that I at once accede to your wish.

Congratulating you on the gratifying course of the Kiel meeting, and begging you to lay me at the feet of the Empress, and to accept the best thanks and the best greetings of my wife, I remain in sincere devotion,

YOUR TRUE FRIEND AND COUSIN.

Bismarck's Side of the Story

By HALL CAINE

HALL CAINE, the novelist, upon reading this correspondence, contributed to The London Telegraph the following brief summary of the very different version of the resignation episode as it stands recorded in Bismarck's autobiography and in Charles Lowe's monograph on Bismarck:

On the morning of Saturday, March 15, 1890, (eighteen days before the letter to Franz Josef,) the Emperor, in a state of considerable excitement, drove to Bismarck's palace to ask why the Chancellor had received and entered into negotiations with a certain party leader without his permission. Bismarck refused to explain, saying that he could not subject his intercourse with Deputies to any constraint, or allow any one to control the entrance to his house. "Not even I, your sovereign?" asked the Emperor. "The commands of my sovereign," said Bismarck, "end at my wife's drawing-room door." "I see," replied the Emperor, "you can receive any one you like, but I mustn't receive my own Ministers without your permission," referring to a Cabinet order made ten years before, whereby Ministers of the Crown were primarily accountable to the Chancellor, not the Kaiser.

On the following Monday, March 17, the Emperor sent his military secretary to the Chancellor to say that he expected his resignation, and would be prepared to receive him for this purpose at the Imperial Palace at 2 o'clock that day. Bismarck did not go. Having "liberated his soul" to the secretary on the Emperor's ingratitude and his own duty to the nation, he summoned a meeting of the Cabinet to explain the situation.

The Emperor was not to be put off. He

now sent his private secretary to demand the Chancellor's resignation by a stated hour, offering at the same time a dukedom and a gift of money to maintain it. Bismarck replied that he required time to consider the request for leave to resign; that he could have become a Duke long ago if he had been so minded, and that as for the money which the Emperor had offered him, he was "not a letter carrier who went around begging for gratuities on Boxing Day."

Next day, the 18th, Bismarck, bowing to the Emperor's right to dismiss him, prepared an elaborate document, which was at once a resignation and a defense, and at noon of the 20th dispatched it. Hardly had the Emperor received this enforced resignation when, on the same day, and within a few hours he returned a reply in which he said:

"My Dear Prince: With deep emotion I have seen from your request of the 18th inst. that you are resolved to retire from the offices which you have held with incomparable success for so many years past. I had hoped not to be forced to meet the need of our separation during our lifetime. If, however, I, fully conscious of the immense purport of your resignation am now obliged to accept this idea, I do so with a sad heart. * * *

"The reasons adduced by you for your decision have convinced me that further attempts to induce you to withdraw your request would be useless. * * *

"It is not in my power to reward your services according to their full value. I must, therefore, be satisfied by assuring you of my never-ending thanks, and of those of the Fatherland. I bestow on you the dignity of a Duke of Lauenburg, as a sign

of these thanks, and I shall send you my life-size portrait. * * *

This letter, a stupendous monument of imperial insincerity, conveying a totally false impression of the circumstances of the Chancellor's resignation, was hurriedly gazetted on the evening of the same day, together with the announcement of the name of Bismarck's successor—the person referred to in the Franz Josef letter as "devoted to me, and in character as firm as a rock."

Such are the facts as we know them. It is probably quite immaterial at this distance of time whether it was Bismarck's or the

Kaiser's lust of power which led to their separation, and whether the Chancellor was envious of the Emperor, or the Emperor of the Chancellor. But for its illuminating value as evidence of mind and character it is at this moment of some consequence that in the letter to Bismarck of March 20, compared with the letter to Franz Josef of April 3, and coupled with the incidents of March 15 and 17, the Kaiser (making allowance for the suave insincerities which may sometimes be necessary to diplomatic language) stands convicted of deliberate untruthfulness.

German National Assembly in 1848 and in 1919

By CHARLES SEIGNOBOS

TRANSLATED FOR CURRENT HISTORY FROM THE REVUE DE PARIS OF FEB. 15, 1919

Professor Seignobos, the French historian, in this article traces the history of Germany's first Constituent Assembly of 1848 from its beginnings to its disastrous end, and points out the essential differences between the conditions on which it depended and those that are shaping the course of the Weimar Assembly of 1919. Germany, he says, has always received her revolutions from abroad; from France in both 1830 and 1848, from America in 1918. In the present crisis she is faced by a choice between the French formula, the National Assembly, delegated by the sovereign people, and invested with full power to create a Constitution, and the new Russian formula, the Council of Soldiers and Workmen perpetually transformed by renewal of delegations. The Germans have hesitated between this choice; the partisans of the socialistic proletarian revolution, supported by the sailors and disbanded soldiers, have sought to adopt the system of the Russian Soviets; the Deputies and officials who have taken possession of the reins of government, supported by organized troops, have pronounced for the National Assembly, which a great majority of the nation, in the interests of peace and order, desire. Summing up M. Seignobos continues:

IT seems easy to us today to understand the failure of the German National Assembly of 1848, and the nonfulfillment of that dream of German unity which, after having awakened in the hearts of German patriots vast hopes, resulted finally in bitter disillusion. The Frankfort Assembly faced an insoluble problem, and it had at its disposal no practical means to resolve it. The political unity of Germany could be established only by a German Federal Government to which Austria refused to submit, and without Austria no German unity was possible. The Assembly voted decrees, but it possessed no means of securing their execution. The revolution of 1848 in Germany was only a semi-revolution; it assured the people liberty of revolutionary manifestations, but it

left intact the material power of its Princes.

The (1848) Assembly, although its title of "Constituent" gave it the illusion of sovereignty, possessed only a provisional and precarious power, depending on the tolerance of the confederated Governments; its power of action was confined to the time and the limits which these Governments imposed upon it. Though it seemed to be a Parliament elected by the nation, it was only a Congress of learned men assembled to present its wishes for the political régime of Germany. Its only practical decision was the creation of a provisional Federal Government; none of its final resolutions was executed; the constitution which it voted was never applied.

The Assembly would have been able to

exercise only a moral authority; and in order to acquire and preserve this it would have had to impose respect by unanimous agreement on those practical solutions necessary to satisfy public opinion in Germany. This agreement could be based only on the abstract theory of the rights of citizens in an ideal society; it was made impossible by the rivalries between countries and individuals that sprang up as soon as it was sought to delimit the territory of this society, to define its government and to designate its head. The Assembly found no common ground between the irreconcilable demands of the old confederation and the new ideal of German unity. It could realize neither the Federal State reserved for Germans and also opened to foreign confederates nor a Federal territory exclusively German, yet inhabited by people of other blood, nor a Federal monarchy governed at one and the same time by two monarchs.

The German Princes looked on the Assembly's sterile activities with hostility, keeping in hand their irresistible weapon, an army intact, disciplined, which had remained aloof from the revolution, and commanded by officers of noble rank, filled with contempt for lawyers and bourgeois professors. As soon as they saw fit to employ this weapon, the Assembly was dispersed, and the sovereignty of the people vanished. Of the work of Frankfort nothing remained but the memory of a great disillusion.

As in 1848, a National Assembly is now convoked to give a Constitution to Germany. But how different is the situation now! As in 1848, Germany has effected a revolution under foreign impulse, and her political evolution, determined by the "realistic" education received from Bismarck, leaves her, as in 1848, destitute of experience and powerless to take the initiative. But despite these exterior resemblances, how dangerous it would be to seek in that record of seventy years ago any indication of the future! Such profound differences separate that time from ours that they forbid every argument based upon analogy.

1. The revolution of 1848 had left the

reigning Princes in possession of their power and their material strength, for their armies remained intact. The revolution of today, however incomplete it may seem to us, has swept away all the dynasties of Germany, and if the army subsists, much more numerous even than it was then, since the whole nation has been incorporated in it, it is an army that has been exhausted by unheard-of losses, that has undergone the strain of an interminable war, that has been demoralized by defeat, that is longing for repose, an army which has lost respect for its officers and wishes only to be disbanded. No other rival authority remains, no material force to dispute with the Assembly the exercise of power; it will be supreme in very fact, if it so desire.

2. German unity in 1848 was still only a dream to be realized, the dream of an intellectual élite which interested the mass of the nation but little. It is today a threatened reality, to which the whole of Germany is passionately attached. The Assembly elected to save this unity, and also to obtain peace, secure the raising of the blockade and reorganize labor, will find in public opinion the support which failed its predecessor of 1848.

3. The Republican Party, the only one which finds in its very principle the power of exacting the effective sovereignty of a Constituent, and of imposing it over the resistance of officialdom, was in 1848 only an impotent and inexperienced minority, devoid of contact with a nation composed above all of peasants and people of the lower middle class. Half a century of electoral campaigns and discussions in political assemblies has given rise to strongly organized parties, trained to deal with the masses and accustomed to debates and intrigues, while the rapid increase of large-scale industry, which has covered Germany with great cities and mining enterprises, has created a new urban and industrial population. The Socialist Party, continuing the tradition of the Republicans of 1848, has enrolled the working classes in the Democratic opposition, and though its Republican allegiance may seem to us lukewarm, it has functioned, none the less, as a Re-

publican Party. Its powerful organization has given it the strength to seize the ascendancy from the hands of the princes; it is this party, master of the Government, and served by the officials of the former monarchy, which has prepared the elections to the Assembly and is directing its inauguration.

4. The most important difference, perhaps, is the following: The Germany of 1848 was at peace, free of all foreign pressure. The Assembly of 1919 is assembling in a conquered country, a country invaded, subjected to foreign occupation, and its principal duty is to obtain the peace imposed by the victor. It is an international principle recognized by all modern States that one people should not intervene in the internal politics of another people. But when a domestic revolution coincides with foreign invasion, and when two parties dispute the Governmental power, the conqueror, whether he wish it or no, by choosing the party to which he addresses himself for the

negotiation of peace, determines the Government of the conquered and chooses his political régime. Thus, in 1848, the Allies, by concluding the armistice with the Count d'Artois and by aiding Talleyrand to organize the comedy of a consultation of the Chambers, decreed for France the Bourbon Monarchy. Similarly the King of Prussia, by refusing in 1870 to treat with Bazaine, and by concluding in 1871 the armistice with the Government of National Defense, decided between the Empire and the Republic. So also Germany, by its negotiations at Brest-Litovsk, instead of awaiting a Russian Constituent Assembly, placed in the hands of the Bolsheviks the Government of Russia. So the Allies, by refusing to recognize the Councils of Soldiers, prepared the way for the Constituent Assembly. The peace accorded by the Entente will determine the fate of the German Republic. And once again, the political progress of Germany will have been the result of foreign creation.

Fearless Knights and Flawless

By EDWARD S. VAN ZILE

Not as the laureled legions who slew for regal Rome,
March they who come from battle, keen for the joys of home;
There are no captives with them, no Caesar at their head,
With lions padding softly, to fill the mob with dread.
Their victor hands are guiltless, they've made no peoples slaves.
They're white-souled as the children they loved across the waves.
No city less a city that they were captains there;
They passed, but there's no wailing of women on the air.
Heed ye the babes of Flanders, the aged of Lorraine—
They pray the saints in sadness our sons may come again!
They used the might of heroes, but not the hate of Huns,
And Frenchmen loved their laughter as Vandals feared their guns.
You've seen their smiling faces, you've met their eyes that seem
Somehow to hide behind them the shadows of a dream;
You've watched them swinging past you, crusaders that we hail
As fearless knights and flawless who saved the Holy Grail.
You laud them for their valor, but this your greatest pride—
In conquering a Caesar no Christ they crucified!

The Battle of Macedonia

Story of the Final Balkan Campaign, Which Started the Collapse and Surrender of the Central Powers

By GENERAL MALLETERRE

Himself a maimed veteran of the great war, and now the military expert of the Paris Temps, General Malleterre is especially qualified to summarize, as he here does in a few lucid pages, the swift and little known events on the Saloniki front which forced the surrender of Bulgaria and foreshadowed the end of the war. That the Bulgarian disaster caused Field Marshal von Hindenburg a month later to advise Germany's surrender is shown in the following extract from a letter which he wrote to the German Government on Oct. 30, 1918, and which the Wolff Bureau has made public:

In consequence of the disaster on the Macedonian front, with its attendant weakening of the reserves of the west front, and in consequence of the impossibility of replacing the great losses sustained in recent encounters, there is now, humanly speaking, no longer any possibility of our being able to impose peace on the enemy. Our opponents are constantly receiving reinforcements.

While the elements of our rear still hold together and may still offer some resistance to the renewed attacks of the enemy, our situation is becoming very precarious and may at any moment place the army command under the necessity of making a comprehensive decision.

In these circumstances it is imperative that we cease the struggle in order to save the German people and our allies from unnecessary sacrifices. Every day's loss in this respect costs the lives of thousands of German soldiers.

On receipt of this letter, says the Wolff Bureau, the Government had no choice but to take steps at once to obtain an armistice and offer to conclude peace. General Malleterre's narrative follows:

ABULLETIN of the Army of the East announced on Sept. 15, 1918, that this army, so long immobilized at Soloniki, had just attacked the Bulgarians east of Monastir. Other bulletins, increasingly brilliant, followed from day to day. The operation was becoming a great battle. The Bulgarian front, pierced at the centre, was melting away from left to right. On Sept. 29 Bulgaria capitulated. A few days afterward Turkey, mortally stricken by the British victory in Syria, also gave up the struggle.

The whole eastern front fell. The allied troops reached the Danube. The Serbian Army reconquered its devastated country, Rumania took up arms again, and the far-reaching nature of these events was measured by the inability of the Central Empires to carry aid to their discomfited allies and to save a critical situation—as in 1915 and 1916—by swift intervention. Austria,

under the blow, was already inclining toward the capitulation which the supreme shock of the Italian attack was to precipitate. Victory in the East was heralding the coming triumph in the West.

This battle of Macedonia was so unforeseen, so overwhelming, that the mind of the world did not fully grasp it amid the increasing emotion of those unforgettable months of the struggle for freedom. Macedonia and Eastern Europe were so far from Paris, from London, from the Allies in the West. Men were thinking only of pricking off upon the map the daily progress of the allied armies on the road to Germany. The successive deliverance of Lille, Valenciennes, Bruges, Mézières, Maubeuge, made a deeper impression than the entry of troops into Uskub, Veles, and Nish. Our soldiers in the East were bitterly aware of this fact. They felt that their work did not receive the attention it de-

served. They believed that they had done a great thing and that the victory in the East had been a singular contribution to the definitive victory. The officers and men of the French, English, Serbian, Greek, and Italian Armies were not ignorant of the fact that the war had begun with the Eastern question, and that if the Allies had been masters of Turkey and Constantinople in 1914 and 1915 the war would have made a short turn much sooner against Germany, who had unchained it for an altogether different object than that of placing Serbia under vassalage to Austria-Hungary.

I have before me the official reports of this battle of Macedonia. I cannot in this brief article even summarize the battle so as to give each army its legitimate part; but I hope at least to do justice to the main achievement of the heroic poilus in the East, who deserve as much from their country as their magnificent comrades in the West.

THE ARMY AT SALONIKI

The Army of the East, better known as the army at Saloniki, was necessarily composite. In the beginning it was formed of French and English divisions from the Dardanelles. The effectives were gradually increased in varying proportions from 1915 to 1917, but never became strong enough to undertake the necessary offensive to break through the Bulgarian front and join up with Rumania after that nation's entry into the conflict in 1916. Russian divisions joined it, and it was reinforced in 1916 with Serbian divisions that had escaped the frightful retreat of the Winter of 1915-16, and which had been rehabilitated at Corfu and in Tunisia. Later, in the Winter of 1916-17, Venizelos, having broken with the traitorous Government of King Constantine, formed three fine divisions of Greek soldiers who had rallied to his banner—the divisions from Seres, Crete, and the Greek Archipelago. The Russians disappeared in 1917, but the Serbs were reinforced with Jugoslav soldiers, and the Greek Army, after the fall of Constantine, increased steadily to ten divisions, creating odds that permitted the Allies to engage in the battle of Macedonia.

In September, 1918, the Army of the East, under the orders of General Franquet d'Esperey, comprised eight French divisions, four British divisions, six Serbian divisions, ten Greek divisions, one Italian division—a total of twenty-nine divisions. [About 725,000 men.] The army was in excellent condition, ready for the offensive which circumstances were about to impose and at the same time to favor.

Before it the Bulgarian Army stood alone. The Austro-German divisions that had buttressed it in 1916 and 1917 had been called away to the West. There was still, indeed, the so-called Eleventh German Army, but its commanders and General Staffs alone were German; the troops were Bulgarian. In Albania a few Austrian battalions were opposing the Italian troops. The Bulgars, therefore, were holding the entire Macedonian front from Lake Ochrida to the Aegean Sea, with sixteen divisions, or about 400,000 men. They had created a defensive organization, limiting themselves to opposing any offensive that might snatch from them the fruits of the campaign of 1915-16. The prolonged inaction of the Saloniki army, which had only made partial and limited attacks in the region of Florine, Monastir, and the bend of the Tcherna, kept them in the illusion that the war would end in reciprocal lassitude, and that they would be able to keep their unjust conquests.

Advices from Bulgaria, however, showed that the people and the army had had enough of it, that King Ferdinand had grown unpopular, that the German influence was decreasing in proportion as the divisions lent for the victory of 1916 decreased, and that the Bulgarian Army, worn out by war, by insufficient food, and by long inaction, would be unable to resist an unexpected and sweeping attack. Perhaps the new Government of Radoslavoff, which had replaced the pro-German Ministry at Sofia, was quite willing, before intrusting itself to the good-will of the Entente, that such an attack should come. A defeat would justify a separate and much desired peace.

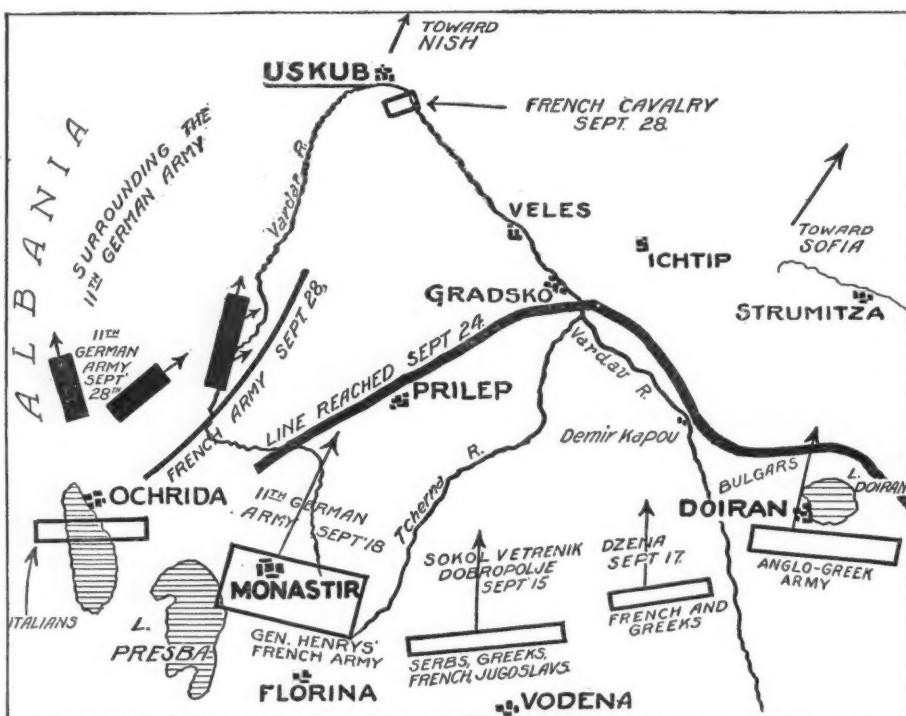


DIAGRAM OF THE BATTLE OF MACEDONIA

GENERAL D'ESPEREY'S STRATEGY

Besides, General Foch, while raining blows on the badly shaken armies of Ludendorff in the West, had not lost sight of the East and of the effect which the elimination of the Bulgarians and Turks would have upon the decision of the war. With that clairvoyance and measured audacity which characterized his method of forcing victory, he planned the double operation of Macedonia and Syria, and intrusted its execution to two leaders—Allenby and Franchet d'Esperey—whose aggressive spirit he could trust.

General Franchet d'Esperey, who had arrived in July, had received from his predecessor, General Guillaumat, precise information regarding the situation of the Bulgars. His personal study suggested a plan of attack which appeared to meet both the strategic and tactical difficulties.

The sketch map accompanying this article shows that the Vardar cut the Macedonian front into two almost equal parts, but with this difference between the sec-

tors, that every attack in the west would come to an end at that oblique line of the Vardar as in an impasse, whereas an attack on the east would turn the Vardar and threaten the direct routes to Sofia by way of the Struma. But the Vardar Valley was also the great communicating highway between the Central Empires and the Macedonian front by way of occupied Serbia and Nish. An offensive plan could therefore choose either to break this direct line of communication between Negotin and Uskub or to attack in the direction of Sofia by way of the Struma. In the first proposition Monastir would form the point of attack on the road to Uskub, but the bend of the Tcherna, a tributary of the Vardar, made the operation difficult; it would be necessary to combine with it a secondary attack east of the Tcherna. The region between the Tcherna and Vardar was particularly arduous; mountain peaks, hardly scalable, made it easy to defend. The Bulgars had a solid hold on the Sokol, the Dobropolje, the Veltenik, the Dzena.

ATTACKING IN THE MOUNTAINS

It seems that the Bulgarian and probably the German General Staffs had excluded the possibility of a successful attack upon any of these peaks along the Tcherna, and that they were watching rather in the direction of Monastir and Lake Doiran, from which an offensive to break through seemed more logical. It was on this preconceived idea of "the most logical plan" that the French command decided upon the manoeuvre which was about to strike at the point which appeared strongest, but whose possession would give it the greatest chances for decisive exploitation of an initial success. If the offensive, in short, were to carry the peaks of Dobropolje, Sokol, and Velttenik and the defensive system of Koziak, the assailants would emerge along the shortest line to the Vardar, thus turning the curve of the Tcherna, which would be crossed more easily than in the lower valley.

The principal breaking-through operation was prepared by a general bombardment of the whole front, and supported by a connected series of attacks in the Monastir sector, in the interior of the Tcherna loop, and especially by a powerful Anglo-Greek attack in the Lake Doiran sector, an attack which, under the form of a diversion, was first to hold back the two Bulgarian armies on the right wing and even to attract the reserves, and then was to become a basic offensive against Strumitza, if the central attack succeeded.

It should be noted that the defense of the whole sector west of the Vardar fell to the Eleventh German Army, which alone constituted almost half of the enemy forces. The three other Bulgarian armies were echeloned east of the Vardar, the first Bulgarian Army forming a sort of reserve.

GOING OVER THE TOP

At 5:30 on the morning of Sept. 15, after the bombardment, the French 121st and 52d Colonial Divisions, with the Serbian division from the Choumadia, bounded from their trenches. It was the first attack, which was to be followed later in the day by another Serbian division and the Jugoslav division. Then the 3d Greek

Division on the left and the First Serbian Army entered the battle on the 16th. Under the irresistible shock of the allied troops a breach was opened on the 17th. I will cite only this extract from the official report:

Access to the chaos of rocks that forms the peak of the Sokol is possible only by two narrow roads upon which the enemy artillery and machine guns are concentrating their fire. On the left the granite rises perpendicularly; the attacking units depart for the assault, carrying ladders. Balancing themselves on the irregularities of the cliff, the men climb up under a barrage fire of extreme violence. * * * The battalion clings to a foothold 150 yards from the summit. During the whole day it resists the enemy's counter-attacks. Only at 10:30 in the evening does it gain the summit by a vigorous effort.

The strategic exploitation began on the 18th with the advance of the two wings on the Tcherna and Vardar and by pursuit to the north. Cavalrymen and aviators vied with each other in their ardor to precipitate a Bulgarian rout. On the 19th the two extreme armies, the French Army, under General Henrys, and the Anglo-Greek, under General Milne, attacked in the region of Doiran, advancing northward. The Franco-Hellenic detachment under General d'Anselme energetically supported the central attack amid the granite cliffs of the Dzena.

On Sept. 22 the Vardar was skirted from Gradzko to Demir-Kapou. On the 23d it was crossed. The Bulgarian Army was cut into two segments. On Sept. 28, in a bold raid, the cavalry of General Jouinot-Gambetta entered Uskub.

ENEMY ARMY TRAPPED

Everywhere the retreat of the Bulgars was becoming a rout and a débâcle. But if the fragments of the First, Third, and Fourth Bulgarian Armies could get back into their own country, it was otherwise with the famous Eleventh German Army, which was obliged to beat a retreat to Uskub by a single road between Albania and the Tcherna. It was outstripped by the ardent pursuit of the French Army under General Henrys and penned up without food in the high wilderness regions where the Vardar has its source,

and in inhospitable Albania. The Italian troops, moreover, closed the exits from Albania. After the Bulgarian plenipotentiaries had signed the capitulation on Sept. 30 the Eleventh German Army, trapped in a blind cañon, surrendered to General Henrys; 66,000 Bulgars, including five Generals and 1,287 officers, with 476 Germans, of whom fourteen were officers, defiled before the French Army at Uskub. General Henrys's order of the day on Oct. 6 thus summed up the capitulation of the Eleventh Army:

By a situation, unique in history, the Eleventh German Army, consisting of four divisions, being entrapped in a defile ninety kilometers in length, has surrendered. To the creators of this great victory, to the chiefs and the general staffs which have so ably served my thought, to the troops whose heroism in combat and superhuman energy in pursuit have vanquished the enemy, to the aviators who have always kept me perfectly informed and who have spent them-

selves to the extreme limit in order to attack the enemy, to the services—particularly the automobile service—which, by their faultless functioning have permitted the advance of the army on a front of 200 kilometers and to a depth of 150, to all those whose devotion, spirit of absolute sacrifice, and unshakable confidence despite the isolation of the distant East, have made it possible to inscribe in our military annals the glorious page of the victory of Uskub, thanks!

The same words of praise might be addressed to all the allied troops in the East.

Such is the story, in mere outline, of the very remarkable battle of Macedonia, which freed the Balkans from the Germano-Bulgarian terror. I believe it will count among the most carefully planned and most decisive of the war; among the most admirable in military history. The French command in the East, as in the West, had demonstrated its mastery over the German command.

Britain's Share in the Macedonian Fighting

Summary of General Milne's Official Report of the Final Balkan Campaign

GENERAL SIR GEORGE MILNE, who, under General Franchet d'Esperey, commanded the Anglo-Greek Army near Lake Doiran in the battle of Macedonia, submitted his official report to the British War Office, which made it public on Jan. 22, 1919. It dealt with the operations in the Balkans from October, 1917, to the end of October, 1918, when the armistice with Turkey was signed. The British Army's part in the final campaign, if less spectacular than that of France and Serbia, was equally essential and decisive. On the Lake Doiran heights the British had to assault prepared positions of great natural strength, and they paid a heavy toll for their success. But they achieved their object—the pinning down of the enemy's reserves in the Vardar Valley while the Franco-Serbian Army swept forward through the breach in the centre.

General Milne disclosed the interesting fact that after Bulgaria's surrender an

allied army, under his command, was formed for an advance on Constantinople. This force was on the point of seizing Adrianople when the conclusion of the armistice with Turkey put an end to the operations.

During the greater part of the period covered by the dispatch the British force was responsible for the whole of the eastern sector of the front from the mouth of the Struma River to the Vardar Valley, a line of about 100 miles. The strength of the army had already been reduced by the transfer to another theatre of two divisions and two cavalry brigades, and in the early part of the Summer a fourth of the remaining infantry was transferred to France. The deficiency was made good by drawing upon the Greek forces. Up to the opening of the final offensive only minor operations were undertaken, consisting of raids on the enemy's positions. It was during June that the first indications of a low-

ering in morale of the Bulgarian Army became noticeable. The number of deserters largely increased, and from their statements it appeared that the Bulgarian Higher Command was meditating an attack on a large scale on the British front from the sea to Lake Doiran. Later information showed that certain enemy units were, however, in a state bordering on mutiny and refused to obey orders.

THE GREAT ATTACK

Toward the end of July General Milne received instructions from General Franchet d'Esperey—who in the previous month had succeeded General Guillaumat in the chief command—to prepare for a general offensive, timed to take place during the first fortnight of September. In this the British troops—provided the Allies on the front held by the Serbian Army succeeded in piercing the enemy's centre—were to attack and take the heights to the west and northeast of Lake Doiran. The three British divisions in this sector were reinforced by two divisions of the Corps of National Defense of the Hellenic Army, a regiment of Hellenic cavalry, and a group of Hellenic heavy artillery. It was clear that the enemy suspected an impending attack, but did not know where the blow was to fall. His reserves were reported to be in the Vardar Valley. To prevent their withdrawal, and to deceive him as to the sector chosen for the main allied attack, operations were begun on the afternoon of Sept. 1, after heavy artillery preparation, against the rocky and strongly fortified salient north of Alcak Mahale, on the right bank of the Vardar. The undertaking proved an entire success.

On the morning of Sept. 14 the general attack began all along the eighty-mile front from Lake Doiran to Monastir. The Franco-Serbian troops, under the command of Voivode Mischitch, stormed the Bulgar trenches on the mountain heights from Sokol to Vetrenik. Before noon the enemy's first and second lines were in the possession of allied troops. This initial victory forced a withdrawal on the flanks. The gap of twelve kilometers was enlarged to one of 25 kilometers. The way was opened for an advance to the heights of Koziak. The

success on which an assault on the Doiran sector was conditional had been attained, and General Milne was ordered to attack on the morning of Sept. 18.

The effective strength of the British troops at this most trying period of the year in Macedonia had, owing to climatic disease and a sudden and severe epidemic of influenza, fallen below one-half of the normal establishment. The allied Commander in Chief, therefore, further reinforced the army by a regiment of French infantry. The whole of this composite force of British, Hellenic, and French was intrusted to the command of Lieut. Gen. Sir H. F. M. Wilson. Simultaneously with the main attack, a secondary and surprise attack was to be made round the east and northern sides of the lake against the Bulgar trenches on the slopes of the Beles range. If successful, the action would turn the Doiran-Vardar front on its left, and in any case would prevent reinforcements moving to the west. This sector was placed under the orders of Lieut. Gen. C. J. Briggs.

STRENGTH OF ENEMY'S LINE

The Bulgarian front between Doiran Lake and the Vardar was one of exceptional strength, dominated by the "P" Ridge and Grand Couronne. The former, from a height of over 2,000 feet, sloped southward toward the British lines, overlooking the whole country south to Saloniki. The enemy had taken full advantage of his ground. He was strongly intrenched in three successive lines, with communication trenches deeply cut into the rock, and roomy, well-timbered dugouts, with concrete machine-gun emplacements, and, on the crest between "P" Ridge and Grand Couronne, with concrete gun-pits. It was the key position of the Vardar-Doiran defenses, and he held it with his best troops.

On the morning of Sept. 18 the two regiments of the Hellenic Division on the right stormed the enemy position up to the neighborhood of Doiran Hill, and took a large number of prisoners. On the left the 66th Infantry Brigade, which had been detailed to lead the attack on the "P" Ridge, advanced with consummate self-sacrifice and gallantry. Here the enemy had established three strong

lines of defense, teeming with concrete machine-gun emplacement, from which they could sweep and enfilade the whole front. After severe fighting the 12th Battalion, Cheshire Regiment, and the 9th Battalion, South Lancashire Regiment, supported by the 8th Battalion, King's Shropshire Light Infantry, succeeded in reaching the third line of trenches.

At this point they came under devastating machine-gun fire, and, unable to make further progress, were eventually compelled to fall back to their original position. In their heroic attempt they had lost about 65 per cent. of their strength, including Lieut. Col. the Hon. A. R. Clegg Hill, D. S. O., and Lieut. Col. B. F. Bishop, M. C., who fell at the head of their battalions. In the centre Hellenic and Welsh troops together assaulted the network of hills and trenches between the "P" Ridge and Grand Couronne, and penetrated to a depth of about one mile. Severe loss was inflicted on the enemy, who offered a desperate resistance, supported by a heavy machine-gun fire from immensely strong emplacements blasted in the solid rock. In spite of this the lower slopes of Grand Couronne were reached. But the lack of success on the "P" Ridge made it impossible to retain the ground so hardly won, and the battalions gradually fell back to their former lines.

Apart from the prospect of a local advance it was essential to the progress of the Serbian Army that none of the enemy reserves which had been attracted to the Doiran-Vardar front should be diverted elsewhere. General Milne therefore gave orders that all the ground won should be held, and that the attack west of the lake should be renewed next morning with all available troops. Accordingly, at 5 A. M. Greek and Scottish troops moved forward against the enemy's positions on the lower slopes of Grand Couronne. Again, in spite of the intense machine-gun fire, they succeeded in reaching their objective at many points. Several of the intermediate works were captured and held against determined counterattacks. Unfortunately, on the left the allied troops at their position of assembly had come under heavy barrage,

and could make no further progress. In spite of this the 65th Infantry Brigade, which had moved up rapidly during the night from an influenza observation camp, twice gallantly tried alone to capture the "P" Ridge, but were driven back by overwhelming fire from the enemy's machine guns. The effect was that the troops in the centre found their left flank exposed. Their right was also threatened, and they were compelled to fall back, stubbornly fighting the whole way.

THE ENEMY'S RETIREMENT

The results of these stubbornly contested operations were to be seen in the course of the next few days. By the morning of the 21st the Franco-Serbian Army had reached the line Gradista-Basava-Dragosil and the heights of Porca, dominating the Vardar, thus turning the flank of the enemy in General Milne's front and cutting his communications down the Vardar Valley. By noon it was plain that a hurried retirement on the Doiran front had begun. The depots at Hudova, Cestova, and other places behind the lines were observed to be in flames, and numerous explosions showed that ammunition depots were being everywhere blown up. The observers of the Royal Air Force reported that the Kosturino Pass on the Strimitsa road, the only good line of retreat now open to the enemy, was blocked by masses of men and transport moving northward. The pilots of the Royal Air Force, flying low, took full advantage of this opportunity. They bombed the Bulgar columns and shot down men and animals with their machine guns, causing heavy casualties and a confusion that bordered on panic. During the evening patrols reported that the advanced trenches of the enemy were empty. Before dawn on the 22d the whole of the army was on the move. Close touch was kept with the hostile rear guards, which, well supplied with mountain and machine guns, did all they could to delay their pursuers.

The first of the Allies to enter Bulgaria was the Derbyshire Yeomanry, early on the morning of Sept. 25. These were the leading troops of the 16th

Corps, under Lieut. Gen. C. J. Briggs. Simultaneously the 22d Division from the west and the Cretan Division from the east of Lake Doiran began to climb the steep slopes of the Belasica Range on the north of the lake. During the night French, Hellenic, and British troops stormed and captured the towering summits of the Belasica. This range is over 4,000 feet above the lake; the ascents are severe; there are practically no paths, and communication was necessarily most irregular. In this operation the 8th Battalion, South Wales Borderers, under Lieut. Col. R. C. Dobbs, D. S. O., specially distinguished themselves. Up to this date thirty guns, large quantities of ammunition, and three hospitals had been captured, while many wounded British prisoners had been recovered; considerable quantities of guns, motor cars, and stores had been found abandoned all along the line of retreat and in the mountains. When the armistice was concluded only fifteen miles separated the advanced British troops from the Rupel Pass and the lines of communication of the Bulgarian Army in the Struma Valley.

MOVING AGAINST CONSTANTINOPLE

Orders were now received to the effect that the British Army should move by Petric and Radomir through Bulgaria to the Danube, in the vicinity of Vidin, in order to co-operate with the French and Serbian armies in their operations against Austria-Hungary. This advance had begun when, on Oct. 10, General Milne received instructions to assume the command of the allied troops operating against Turkey in Europe and to transfer the army under his command to that theatre of operations. In spite of the fact that the railway had been totally de-

stroyed between Doiran and Seres, and that practically no roads exist in Eastern Macedonia, on the night of Oct. 30 and 31, when news was received of the conclusion of an armistice with Turkey, two British divisions and one French division were ready on the River Maritza to seize the northern bridges and to occupy the town of Adrianople, the bridge at Insala was in possession of the British, while in rear the 1st Hellenic Corps was eschewed between Kavala and Drama, ready to take part in the general advance on Constantinople. This rapid move of about 250 miles, including the rebasing of the troops on the small ports in the Aegean Sea, reflects (says the dispatch) the greatest credit on the staff and administrative services, but it would have been impossible of achievement without the hearty co-operation of the Royal Navy in clearing the mine-swept areas and ports and in assisting in the transfer of troops and stores. General Milne adds:

I cannot speak too highly of the spirit and determination shown by all ranks during this short but arduous campaign. Malaria and influenza had taken a heavy toll, both in strength and in numbers; but, rather than miss the opportunity for which they had waited three years, officers and men remained in the ranks till often they dropped from sheer exhaustion. The calls made on the infantry have been specially severe, but whether in the attacks on the almost impregnable positions between Doiran and the Vardar, in the operations in the unhealthy Struma Valley, or in surmounting the heights of the Belasica Mountains they have invariably met with the same ready response.
* * * I cannot close this report without expressing my high appreciation of the splendid spirit and devotion to the service of their country shown by all ranks of this army, the majority of whom will return to their homes with constitutions shattered by a prolonged stay in this malarious and inhospitable country.

Text of the Treaty Under Which Rumania Entered the War

BELOW appears the full text of the treaty signed on Aug. 17, 1916, between Rumania and the Entente Powers, as a preliminary to Rumania's entry into the war on the Entente side. The translation here given is from the French original, and was made for CURRENT HISTORY. The significance of the document lies largely in the many stipulations and agreements that were never fulfilled. Russia's failure to supply the promised military support, followed swiftly by Rumania's collapse under German invasion, rendered the treaty a dead letter within a few weeks, but its details are in some respects the more interesting on that account:

Article 1.—France, Great Britain, Italy, and Russia hereby guarantee the territorial integrity of the Kingdom of Rumania as embraced in its present frontiers.

Art. 2.—Rumania undertakes to declare war and attack Austria-Hungary according to the conditions stipulated for in the military agreement; Rumania further undertakes, upon declaration of war, to stop all economic relations and commercial intercourse with enemies of the Allies.

Art. 3.—France, Great Britain, Italy and Russia recognize Rumania's right to annex those territories of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy determined upon in Article 4.

Art. 4.—The limits of the territories referred to in the preceding article are fixed as follows:

The line of demarcation shall begin on the Pruth at a point on the present frontier between Rumania and Russia, near Novoselitza, and shall continue along this river to the frontier of Galicia at the confluence of the Pruth and the Ceremos. From there it shall follow the boundary between Galicia and Bukovina and that between Galicia and Hungary to the Stog. Thence it shall follow the line of division of the waters of the Tisza and the Vizo until it reaches the Tisza at the village of Trebusa, ascending into the region where the Tisza joins with the Vizo. From this point it shall descend along the Tisza to within four kilometers of the junction of this river with the Szamos, leaving the village of Vasares-Nameny to Rumania. It shall then continue in a south-southwest direction to a point six kilometers east of the town of Debreczen. From this point it shall continue toward the Crisch to within three kilometers of the junction of the two branches of that river, (the White Crisch

and the Rapid Crisch. Thence it shall run to the Tisza above the village of Alghe, north of Szegedin, passing west of the villages of Croshaza and of Bekessamson, making a turn three kilometers away from the latter. From Alghe the line shall descend along the Tisza to the point of this river's union with the Danube, and from there it shall follow the Danube to the present frontier of Rumania.

Rumania undertakes not to build fortifications opposite Belgrade within a zone to be decided upon later, and to maintain in this zone only forces necessary for police purposes. The Royal Rumanian Government binds itself to indemnify the Serbians of the Banat region who, abandoning their property, should desire to emigrate within the space of two years after the conclusion of peace.

Art. 5.—Rumania on one part, and France, Great Britain, Italy, and Russia on the other part, bind themselves to conclude a separate peace or a general peace only upon mutual consent, and at the same time.

France, Great Britain, Italy, and Russia also agree that at the treaty of peace those territories of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy described in Article 4 shall be annexed to the Rumanian Kingdom.

Art. 6.—Rumania shall enjoy the same rights as the Allies in all preliminaries and negotiations for peace, as well as in the discussion of questions which will be submitted to the Peace Conference for decision.

Art. 7.—The contracting powers bind themselves to keep this treaty secret until the conclusion of a general peace.

The following is the text of the military agreement supplementing the treaty:

Article 1.—In accordance with the treaty of alliance concluded on Aug. 17, 1916, between France, Great Britain, Italy, Russia, and Rumania, Rumania engages to mobilize all her forces on land and sea and to start operations against Austria-Hungary at the latest on Aug. 28, 1916, (eight days after the offensive at Saloniki.) The offensive operations of the Rumanian Army will begin on the day of the declaration of war.

Art. 2.—From the day of the signature of this agreement and during the mobilization and concentration of the Rumanian Army, the Russian Army engages to act in a particularly energetic manner along the whole Austrian front in order to assure the above-mentioned Rumanian operations. This action shall be especially determined and vigorous in Bukovina, where the Russian troops shall at any rate retain their present positions.

After Aug. 25, 1916, the Russian fleet shall assure the security of the Port of Constanza, shall prevent any debarkation of enemy

troops on the Rumanian coast, and any invasion along the Danube by way of the mouths of this river.

On her part Rumania shall recognize the right of the Russian Black Sea fleet to utilize the Port of Constanza and to take all necessary measures against the enemy submarine fleet.

The Russian warship stationed on the Danube to protect its banks as well as to lend support to the Rumanian Army and Navy shall be under the orders of the chief command of the Rumanian armies and shall co-operate on that river with the Rumanian fleet of monitors. The details of this co-operation shall be decided upon in conformance with the articles of this agreement.

Art. 3.—Russia engages immediately upon the mobilization of the Rumanian Army to send into the Dobrudja two infantry divisions and one cavalry division to co-operate with the Rumanian Army against the Bulgarian Army.

The Allies engage to undertake an offensive with their armies at Saloniki at least eight days before Rumania's entry into the war in order to facilitate the mobilization and concentration of all the Rumanian military forces. This offensive shall start on Aug. 20, 1916.

If, in the course of the military operations, the allied powers, after an agreement between the respective General Staffs, are led to increase the military quota co-operating with the Rumanian Army, this increase in numbers shall in no way modify the stipulations of the agreements herein concluded.

Art. 4.—France, Great Britain, Italy, and Russia agree to furnish Rumania munitions and war materials, which shall be transported by Rumanian or allied ships and be forwarded by way of Russia.

These deliveries shall be made in such a manner as to insure their arrival in Rumania; they shall be continuous, in so far as possible; there shall be a minimum delivery of 300 tons a day, an allowance of one month being made for transportation.

In case the Allies should have at their disposal new routes facilitating the transportation of these supplies, Rumania shall be able to benefit thereby.

Art. 5.—The Allies also agree to furnish Rumania, so far as possible, with horses, rubber, medical stores, articles of subsistence and equipment which she may call for in the quantities and categories that shall be agreed upon in common.

Art. 6.—The Allies shall place at Rumania's disposition an expert personnel necessary for the manufacture of munitions and war materials in that country.

Art. 7.—Upon the conclusion of this agreement, the General Staffs of the Rumanian and Russian Armies, as well as the General Staff of the armies at Saloniki, shall agree upon their methods of co-operation.

The agreement for the period of military operations of the Rumanian and Russian

Armies, or any change, elucidation or amendment thereof with a view to a permanent connection, shall be determined upon at the specified General Headquarters, in accordance with the below-mentioned stipulations.

Art. 8.—The co-operation of the allied armies does not imply the subordination of one of the contracting parties to the other; it implies only the voluntary acceptance of the dispositions and modifications due to the general situation and to the necessities demanded by the end sought and a ready co-operation in arms.

Art. 9.—In effect, the royal Rumanian troops and the imperial Russian troops shall retain their own commands, their distinct zones of operations, and complete independence in the conduct of operations. The line of demarcation between the two armies shall pass from Dorna-Vatra, by the Bistrizta and the valleys of the Chaio and Samesch Rivers to Debreczen. The principal objective of Rumanian action, in so far as the military situation south of the Danube will permit, shall be by way of Transylvania toward Budapest.

The Russian troops provided for in Article 3, intended for co-operation with the Rumanian Army, shall be under the chief command of the Rumanian Army.

In case the Russian contingent operating south of the Danube should be considerably augmented, so as to become equal or superior in strength to the Rumanian troops with which it will co-operate, this contingent, upon leaving Rumanian soil, shall be able to form an independent army, which shall be placed under the Russian chief command. In this event, that army, operating outside of Rumanian territory, shall have a distinct zone of operations and shall be under the orders of the Russian chief command, while conforming with the plans of both General Staffs, as agreed upon above.

If, in view of the object sought, the military operations of the combined Rumanian and Russian forces shall have taken place, the command of these forces shall be determined by the respective zone of operations. All the orders and instructions relative to the conduct of operations shall be drafted in Rumanian and in Russian.

Art. 10.—In effect, national territory as well as territory occupied by the army of one of the contracting parties shall only be entered by the armies of the other contracting party if the general interest and the common end demand such a course and only with the written and previous consent in each particular case.

Art. 11.—Every time that, in the course of operations, the allied armies find themselves compelled, in order to transport troops, provisions, and military supplies, to use one or several railroad lines in the territory of an allied State, such utilization shall be determined upon in such particular case by the representatives of the several allied General Staffs.

The administration and organization of

transportation and the supply of food from local resources shall, in all cases, be incumbent upon the territorial authorities.

Art. 12.—The prisoners, booty, and trophies taken by one of the armies shall belong to it.

Booty taken in common battle, and on the same battlefield, shall be divided proportionately among the troops that shall have taken part. However, in order to facilitate the delivery of supplies to the Rumanian Army, the imperial Russian command shall allow the former to take the war materials and munitions comprised in any mixed booty which she may have urgent need for.

Art. 13.—To co-ordinate the action of the Rumanian, Russian, and allied armies, and to attain more surely the military objectives, a representative of the Rumanian Army, aided, if necessary, by a certain number of attached officers, shall be stationed at the Russian and allied General Headquarters at the time when Rumanian military operations are started. Representatives of the Russian and allied armies, also, with their attached officers, shall be stationed at the General Headquarters of the Rumanian Army.

The General Headquarters of the co-operat-

ing armies must keep each other posted in good time with regard to military plans, reinforcements, and the progress of operations.

Art. 14.—If, in the course of the operations, situations should arise demanding new measures and bringing up questions not provided for in this agreement, all such questions shall be discussed in the respective General Headquarters with the representative of the allied army, but decisions shall only become effective upon the agreement of the Commanders in Chief.

Art. 15.—In order to be able to take the measures preparatory to the commencement of operations in time, the contracting parties shall agree upon the plan of military action before the day when hostilities will be started by the Rumanian Army.

Art. 16.—The question of armistices shall be decided by a common understanding of the supreme commands of the co-operating armies.

Art. 17.—This agreement shall be in force from the date of its signature until the conclusion of a general peace.

How the War Added a Million to the United States Civil List

BEFORE the war began the United States Government employed approximately 500,000 persons in the civil branch. After Uncle Sam cast his lot definitely with the Allies the great army of workers behind the fighting forces grew by tens of thousands until it numbered almost a million men and women. The force of civilian employees of the Government in the District of Columbia increased from about 35,000 to approximately 95,000. The forces in navy yards increased from about 20,000 to more than 100,000, and in Government ordnance plants from 10,000 to about 50,000.

During the nineteen months of American participation in the conflict the United States Civil Service Commission, whose duty it was to recruit the civil service to meet war needs, examined almost a million persons, more than 400,000 of whom were appointed.

The commission found it necessary to advertise extensively in order to mobilize the workers. Three thousand local boards of civil service examiners and 8,000 Post-masters at third-class Post Offices in

the smaller towns constantly kept the announcements of the commission before their respective communities. More than 5,000,000 posters and other printed announcements were distributed and displayed; lantern slides were thrown upon the screens in 16,000 motion picture theatres; cards were displayed in 28,000 trolley cars; notices were printed in 6,000 newspapers and more than 200 periodicals; posters were displayed upon the bulletin boards of 3,000 libraries, 1,200 chambers of commerce and boards of trade, and in many other prominent places in every city in the country.

Appeals for recruits were also printed on the backs of gas and electric light bills, on letterheads of business houses, in theatre programs, and on Weather Bureau bulletins. Thirty motion picture producing companies either posed special features or attached trailers to films. Educational institutions and numerous organizations assisted in the work. The only cost to the Government for millions of dollars' worth of advertising was for the printing of posters and circulars and for the making of lantern slides.

Japan's Relations With China

Chinese at Paris Demand Freedom From Japanese Domination—Documents of the Controversy

THE strained diplomatic situation that developed between Japan and China soon after the opening of the Peace Conference was conditioned in the main by two large issues, the Chinese demand that the City of Tsing-tao and the adjoining district of Kiao-Chau in Shantung Province be returned to China, and the determination of the Chinese delegation at Paris to publish the so-called "secret treaties" between the two countries.

The Chinese delegation consisted of Lu Chieng-tsang, High Commissioner; Chen Ting Thomas Wing, ex-Minister of Agriculture; Hu Weh-teh, Chinese Minister to Paris; Alfred Sze, Minister to London; Dr. Wellington Koo, Minister to Washington. These representatives declared that when the question of sending a Chinese delegation to the Peace Conference arose, the Japanese Government attempted to obtain the right to represent China there; that in a note sent in November, 1918, the Japanese Foreign Minister had asked that the Japanese advisers be allowed to help formulate the Chinese proposals to be submitted at Paris; that the Chinese delegates had been warned not to disclose the "secret treaties," and that when they passed through Japan on their way to Paris these treaties had been stolen from their baggage. One of the treaties was that relating to Kiao-Chau, which, the Chinese declared, had been signed under duress. These charges, in the main, were at once denied by the Japanese Government.

The Chinese delegates presented a memorial to the Peace Conference which was summarized on March 20 by Le Temps as follows:

China demands the restitution of Kiao-Chau and the evacuation of Shantung Peninsula by the Japanese for the following reasons:

1. The leased concession of Kiao-Chau and its islands in 1898 was not made

voluntarily; it nevertheless reserved the sovereignty of China.

2. The population of Shantung is Chinese and desires to remain Chinese.

3. It was in the Shantung Peninsula, cradle of Chinese civilization, that Confucius and Mencius were born.

4. The population of Shantung is very dense, (38,000,000 inhabitants in 56,000 square miles.) There is no room for foreign immigration, and its arrival would only tend to the exploitation of the Chinese population.

5. The Shantung Peninsula possesses all the elements necessary for the economic domination of Northern China—mines, ports, railways.

6. Strategically Kiao-Chau commands the entrance to the Gulf of Pe Chi-li and to Northern China.

7. Its restitution is one of the conditions of peace in the Far East; the maintenance of a foreign army of occupation would tend to bring about grave complications.

The Chinese delegates demanded also that the restitution should be direct and not through Japan as an intermediary, though they did not doubt Japan's promises. The grounds were stated as follows:

1. Direct restitution is simpler.

2. China has conserved her territorial rights and desires to keep them valid.

3. The military occupation by Japan is precarious and cannot carry with it any acquisition of rights.

4. The treaty signed as a result of the "twenty-one demands" presented in January, 1915, by Japan is subject to revision.

5. By international law China's declaration of war abrogates entirely the concessions made to Germany. China ought to be replaced in the position she occupied before the affair with Germany.

SUMMARY OF EVENTS

The history of how Germany took Kiao-Chau from China, and how Japan took it away from Germany, may be summarized briefly as follows:

In 1898 the German Government obtained from China the concession of the harbor of Tsing-Tao and of the territory

of Kiao-Chau as compensation for the murder of two missionaries killed in the province of Shantung. The concession was granted on March 6, 1898, for a period of ninety-nine years. On Aug. 15, 1914, at the beginning of the European war, Japan summoned Germany to restore Kiao-Chau to China within one month. On receiving Germany's refusal to comply with this demand, Japanese troops, in conjunction with a British contingent, attacked the fortress of Tsing-Tao and captured it on Nov. 7. Japan at once began to administer the city and the surrounding district by right of possession. On May 25, 1915, an agreement was signed between Japan and China, according to whose terms China bound herself "to give complete consent to all arrangements which Japan might subsequently make with the German Government concerning the disposition of the rights, interests, and concessions which Germany possesses in Shantung by virtue of treaties, or otherwise."

The signing of this agreement followed an ultimatum delivered by Japan on May 7, 1915. This ultimatum, which recapitulates the difficulties between the two nations, was couched as follows:

THE JAPANESE ULTIMATUM

In opening the negotiations with the Chinese Government the Imperial Government was actuated by the desire to adjust matters to meet the new situation created by the war between Japan and Germany, and of strengthening, in the interest of a firm and lasting peace in the Far East, the bond of amity and friendship between Japan and China by removing from the relations of the two countries various causes of misunderstanding and suspicion.

Since the Imperial Government first presented their proposal to the Chinese Government in January last twenty-five conferences have been held between the representatives of the two Governments. In these successive conferences the Imperial Government presented their side of the case fully and frankly, while at the same time, animated by a spirit of conciliation and concord they gave every possible consideration to the argument advanced by the Chinese Government. This fact, the Imperial Government believes, affords abundant proof of their sincere desire to bring the present negotiations to a peaceful conclusion. With

the close of the twenty-fourth conference, on April 17, discussions on all questions were practically brought to an end.

Thereupon the Imperial Government, in deference to the expressed wishes of the Chinese Government, considerably modified their original proposal and prepared an amended project, showing no small concessions on their part. This they presented to the Chinese Government on the 26th of the same month, with the announcement that should the Chinese Government accept it, Kiao-Chau Bay, which is a point of no small importance in the Far East commercially as well as strategically, and which cost Japan so much to take, would be returned to China at a proper time under fair and reasonable conditions.

The reply which the Chinese Government gave on May 1 to this amended project of the Imperial Government was a total disappointment. It gave not only no indication of the Japanese amended project having been seriously examined by the Chinese Government, but also failed to show any appreciation of the friendly and generous offer of the Imperial Government. Japan, being now in possession of Kiao-Chau Bay, is under no obligation to return it to China. It is because of her desire to promote the friendly relations with China that Japan proposes to do so.

CHINA'S DEMANDS

The Imperial Government cannot conceal their keen disappointment at the utter disregard, on the part of the Chinese Government, of the sentiment which prompted them to make this offer. The Chinese Government, so far from showing an appreciation of the good-will of the Imperial Government in respect of Kiao-Chau Bay, even demanded its unconditional surrender, and called upon Japan to indemnify inevitable losses suffered by China in consequence of the war between Japan and Germany.

Moreover, they presented several other demands in connection with the occupied territory and declared that they were entitled to participate in the coming peace negotiations between Japan and Germany. A demand like the unconditional surrender of Kiao-Chau Bay, or indemnification by Japan of inevitable losses suffered by China in consequence of the Japan-German war, is one that cannot be justly accepted by the Imperial Government. Nevertheless, the Chinese Government declared the last reply to be their final decision. Any agreements that have already been or may hereafter be reached as to the other points would, therefore, be of no effect, unless those inadmissible demands of China are accepted by Japan. In other words, the last reply of the

Chinese Government, taken as a whole, amounts to nothing more than a rejection of the entire Japanese proposals.

In several other respects the Chinese reply is no less unsatisfactory. As regards South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia, for instance, the Chinese Government ignored the universally recognized fact that these are the regions where, owing to geographical, political, and economical reasons, Japan has special interests which have been made the more preponderating as the result of the last two wars. Some of the proposals which the Imperial Government formulated with a conciliatory spirit on the basis of the declarations made by the Chinese representative at the conference were arbitrarily amended by the Chinese Government, thus nullifying the statement of their own responsible Minister, while in some others an inconsistent and therefore inadmissible amendment was introduced, showing thus no evidence of good faith and sincerity on their part.

QUESTION OF SOVEREIGNTY

As to the questions of advisers, land for schools and hospitals and supply of arms, the Imperial Government merely asked to leave on record what had been declared by the Chinese representative, while as regards the railway concessions in South China, they were satisfied with a promise that the matter would be favorably considered, in case there was no objection on the part of the other interested powers. These proposals affected in no wise China's sovereignty or treaty obligations, but the Chinese Government refused to give their consent on the ground that they involved the question of China's sovereignty or of treaty obligations.

The Imperial Government extremely regret that they find in the attitude of the Chinese Government little use of further continuing the present negotiations. Yet the Imperial Government, who are ever solicitous for the preservation of peace in the Far East, prompted by the desire to bring the present negotiations to a satisfactory close and avoid the development of any serious complication in the situation, have decided, as a mark of their sincere good-will toward the Chinese Government, to withdraw from the present negotiations and reserve for future discussion the whole Group V., except the one item respecting Fukien Province, about which agreement has been reached between the representatives of the two Governments.

The Imperial Government therefore advise the Chinese Government that they will, in evidence of the good-will of the Imperial Government, accept without amendment all items included in Groups

I., II., III., and IV., together with the items in Group V. relating to Fukien, as embodied in the Japanese amendment project of April 26.

In case the Imperial Government fail to receive from the Chinese Government before 6 P. M. of May 9 a satisfactory response to their advice they will take such independent action as they may deem necessary to meet the situation.

JAPAN'S OFFICIAL PROMISE

In an exchange of letters following the signing of the treaty of May 25, the Japanese Minister declared in the name of his Government that:

When, after the war is ended, the leased territory of Kiao-Chau has been placed at the free disposition of Japan, the Japanese Government will return it to China, on the following conditions, viz.:

1. The whole of the bay of Kiao-Chau shall be opened as a commercial port.
2. A municipal concession placed under the exclusive jurisdiction of Japan shall be established at such location as shall have been designated by the Japanese Government.
3. An international municipal concession shall be established if the foreign powers express such a desire.
4. A previous understanding shall be made between Japan and China to determine the disposition of the German buildings and possessions.

The attitude of the Chinese Peace Delegation may be summed up as follows: China, a neutral power in 1915, when she signed this agreement, declared war on the Central Powers on Aug. 14, 1917. Availing herself of the general rule of international law in virtue of which the state of war abrogates all existing treaties between belligerents, she declared abrogated all treaties which had been made between herself and Germany, including the agreement of 1898 relative to Kiao-Chau. This concession having been thus declared null and void, the Chinese delegation at Paris contended that Kiao-Chau should revert to China. The treaty between Japan and China of 1915, affecting the disposition of the German rights in this district, would, in the Chinese contention, automatically be waived.

The Chinese contention that the China-Japan treaty of 1915 had become nugatory, as officially stated by Dr. Wellington Koo, one of the Paris delegates, because it had been signed under duress,

has been variously repudiated by Japanese official circles and the fulfillment of the treaty insisted on. The attitude of Japan toward China, as set forth on Jan. 21, 1919, by Viscount Uchida, Minister of Foreign Affairs, before the Parliament at Tokio, was seen to be based on this fulfillment. In this address Viscount Uchida denied that Japan cherished territorial ambitions in China, or that she contemplated any action which might militate against the development of the legitimate interest and welfare of the Chinese Nation. Japan, declared Viscount Uchida, had solemnly pledged herself to respect the independence and territorial integrity of China, and to abide by the principle of the "open door" for commerce and industry. And she was particularly anxious to deal in a spirit of friendliness and justice with all the questions which might come before the Peace Congress affecting the Chinese interests. Kiao-Chau, on acquisition of the right of free disposal from Germany, would be returned to China "in accordance with the terms of the notes complementary to the treaty of May 25, 1915, regarding the Shantung Province."

Concerning these reassuring statements of Viscount Uchida, the Chinese delegation at Paris issued on Jan. 23 an official statement, insisting on a revision of the 1915 treaties, and implying that the sincerity of M. Uchida's general declarations would be tested by the Japanese attitude toward the demand of China at the Peace Conference.

CHINA'S REPLY

Similar assurances given on Jan. 27 by Baron Makino, the Japanese delegate at Paris, were criticised by the unofficial mission to Washington of the Canton Government, which pointed out that Baron Makino had failed to indicate the nature of the notes exchanged by Japan and China in 1915. The statement said:

No notes were exchanged between China and Japan in May, 1915, respecting Tsing-tao, although notes forming part of the Chinese-Japanese treaties of 1915 were so exchanged regarding the leased territory of Kiao-Chau, in which the great fortress city of Tsing-tao is situated. Assuming Baron Makino's statement to refer to

Kiao-Chau, it is not a little disappointing that he failed to indicate the nature of the "terms of the notes exchanged between China and Japan in May, 1915."

The notes formed part of a set of treaties which Japan compelled China to sign under a threat of war contained in an ultimatum delivered on May 7, 1915. The notes contained, in Chinese opinion, an illusive undertaking on the part of Japan to "restore" Kiao-Chau to China, subject to the following conditions:

[Here follow the stipulations given on Page 351. The statement continues]:

It will be noted that these conditions, besides limiting Chinese jurisdiction as a result of opening the whole of Kiao-Chau as a commercial port and the establishment of an international settlement therein, provide for the establishment of a Japanese settlement in a locality to be designated by the Japanese Government. Inasmuch as the only developed and valuable portion of Kiao-Chau is the City of Tsing-tao, on which the Germans spent vast sums, it is easy to see that a sense of enlightened selfishness will dictate the selection of Tsing-tao as the "locality to be designated by the Japanese Government." And in this event people who remember the lofty statement of Marquis Okuma, affirming the utter unselfishness of Japan in declaring war against Germany, will watch Japan swallowing the oyster of Kiao-Chau and handing the shell to China.

BARON MAKINO'S STATEMENT

In another statement made by Baron Makino on Feb. 7, Japan's intention to return Kiao-Chau to China was reiterated, and other important points were elucidated as follows:

The Chinese territory of Shantung and the railway line to the city of Tsinan had been, up to the time they fell into Japan's hands, controlled by the Germans, while German officials were active throughout the province, and much more active than those of any other nation. In fact, immediately Japan declared war on Germany, this line, as well as the line from Tientsin to Tsinan, was used by Germany to transport troops through China to Tsing-tao. During the Tsing-tao campaign Germany used the Tsing-tao-Tsinan line entirely for military purposes. But immediately Japan took possession the old antagonisms came more markedly into evidence, fanned by the Germans in China, who were enraged at their loss. The old jealousies were revived because of Japan's occupation of another port within the territory of China. As in the case of the South Manchurian Railway, there were unfortunate disturbances and many complaints, just and unjust.

In 1915 Japan, in a desire to bring about a rapprochement with China and to settle outstanding differences, because of conflicts which had occurred at various points, made certain demands upon China, and included among these demands certain expressions as to what she would desire further in case China were willing to grant concessions. I make reference to this because we desire to clear the table of matters which confuse the public mind to some extent. In the matter of these demands and the adjunct or rider thereto considerable misunderstandings have, I think, occurred, and much blame has been laid at the door of Japan. I am not prepared here and now to discuss the rights and wrongs of that situation, which is past and done with. But out of the negotiations came a treaty or agreement entered into between China and Japan under which Japan agreed to restore Kiao-Chau to China. This convention is an open document, and has been published in full. Attached to that agreement are no secret or concealed clauses whatsoever. These engagements were entered into by China, and subsequently in 1918 an arrangement was entered into regarding international settlements in Tsing-tao and some other concessions by China, giving Japan opportunity for co-operation with China in the development of Shantung in consideration for the return of Tsing-tao and Kiao-Chau.

UNPUBLISHED AGREEMENT

The details of this agreement have not been published owing to an understanding between the two countries, and because the agreement is preliminary to business matters which are as yet in an incomplete stage, a reason which, of course, will be understood by business people as well as by Governments. This agreement was made in good faith by China. We have not hitherto been led to suppose that this agreement of 1918 was more than a just, proper, and mutually helpful settlement of outstanding questions, enabling us mutually to approach the Peace Conference in better understanding. In 1917, two years after the taking of Tsing-tao, China declared war on Germany. But in 1915 Japan had pledged her willingness to return Kiao-Chau to China. Japan has repeatedly announced that she has no territorial ambitions in China, but desires to live in amity with her neighbor.

In desiring to secure from China a right to concessions in the Province of Shantung, Japan does not seek more than a fair division in co-operation with China. Surely it is not taking advantage of China to ask that we be permitted by her, on the same basis as other nations, to have

equal opportunity for development purposes. China has the raw material; we have need for raw material, and we have the capital to invest with China in its development for its use by ourselves as well as by China. I somewhat labor this point because we are accused of aims in an exactly opposite direction to those of fair co-operation and partnership, as well as being accused of the folly of making deliberate and obvious efforts to take advantage of our neighbor. We realize the great change that has taken place and must take place among nations in their dealings one with the other.

We feel that after the expenditure and the loss of 2,000 precious lives, small as it may be in the great toll that has been reaped in this fearful struggle, we are entitled to receive from Germany delivery of that which she refused to deliver in order that it may be returned to its rightful owner. Let me emphasize that neither in Shantung nor in Manchuria does Japan seek to take improper advantage of China. She seeks equal opportunity, an open door, and the right of peaceful co-operation between the two nations of the Far East.

MINISTER OBATA'S DEMAND

A new crisis, however, in Chino-Japanese relations was said to have been precipitated by official action of Japan on Feb. 4, when the Japanese Minister at Peking, Mr. Obata, informed the Acting Foreign Minister that if China chose to regard Japanese wishes in the negotiations at Paris and undertook not to reveal to the Conference secret Chinese-Japanese agreements, the unpaid balance of 17,000,000 taels of the original loan of 20,000,000 would be paid; if not, the 3,000,000 taels already advanced must be at once returned. Threats of Japan's military power were said to have been very thinly veiled.

The China Press on Feb. 8 in an editorial article said in part:

Minister Obata's startling demand that China gag its delegates at the Peace Conference has done great service. It has posed effectively and opportunely to the whole world the issue of the Far East. The issue is whether or not this hemisphere is Japan's domain or if China is still an independent nation.

Since August, 1914, the issue has been gathering. From Japan's ultimatum to Germany to what Minister Obata calls his friendly visit to the Chinese Foreign Office, its development has been thoroughly and ruthlessly the logical sequence of events—the taking of Tsing-tao, the widening of that wedge until it included •

large part of Shantung, the sinister twenty-one demands, the Japanese contribution to the undoing of Yuan Shi-kai, the steady encroachments in Manchuria, the secret Russo-Japanese treaty, the blocking of China's entry into the war except under Tokio's aegis, the underwriting of the corrupt northern militaristic party, the series of nefarious loans that turned over the resources of an Eldorado for a song, the setting up of a civil administration in Shantung, the arms alliance of 1918, all the other secret agreements, the Lansing-Ishii "paramount interest" agreement, until now we have the naked question, Is China a Japanese colony?

Can there be any other meaning of Minister Obata's demand? If China is denied the right to present its case before the Peace Conference, if its delegates can speak only by and with the consent of Japan's delegates, then it has no identity as a nation. Then it is a Japanese dependency.

It is for the Allies to answer, and the answer will be implicit in the spirit that shall dominate the Peace Conference and in the form of the peace treaty. If President Wilson's ideals are really to prevail, if Old World politics are to go, if the League be a vital force, then now, once and for all, we must set our face against this sort of imperialist Far East.

Peking dispatches of Feb. 10 reported that though the Cabinet and Diplomatic Commission had advised acceding to the Japanese demand that the Chinese delegation should act in accordance with that of Japan, President Hsu Chi-chang had not yielded; instead, he had cabled to Paris an expression of confidence in the Chinese delegation. Delegates of both North and South, then in conference in an endeavor to end the civil war in China, had united in telegrams of encouragement to the President.

Denying that Japan was endeavoring to coerce the Chinese peace delegates, Kijuro Shidehara, Vice Foreign Minister of Japan, speaking for the Viscount Uchida, declared that Japan "had simply called to China's attention the established procedure, according to which "neither Government has the right to "publish confidential correspondence "without previously consulting the other. * * * Japan has no intention to "interfere with any demands or contentions which the Chinese prefer to present at the Peace Conference; accordingly, Peking and Paris reports to the

"contrary are absolutely untrue." A similar statement was made by Premier Hara before the Japanese Parliament on March 2.

TEXT OF "SECRET TREATIES"

On Feb. 5 Baron Makino declared that the so-called secret treaties had been furnished by Japan herself to the associated powers. On March 16 treaties between China and Japan respecting railroad concessions in Manchuria and Northeastern China were published simultaneously in Peking and Tokio. The official translation of these documents by the Japanese Foreign Office is given below. The first treaty, respecting the Province of Shantung, contains four articles, as follows:

Article 1.—The Chinese Government engages to recognize all matters that may be agreed upon between the Japanese Government and the German Government respecting the disposition of all the rights, interests, and concessions which, in virtue of treaties or otherwise, Germany possesses vis-à-vis China in relation to the Province of Shantung.

Art. 2.—The Chinese engage that in case they undertake the construction of a railway connecting Chefoo or Lungkow with the Kiaoo-Chau-Tsinan Railway, they shall, in the event of Germany's surrendering her right of providing capital for the Chefoo-Weihsien Railway line, enter into negotiations with Japanese capitalists for the purpose of financing the said undertaking.

Art. 3.—The Chinese Government engage to open of their own accord as early as possible suitable cities and towns in the Province of Shantung for the residence and trade of foreigners.

Art. 4.—The present treaty shall take effect on the day of its signature.

Following the signing of the foregoing treaty the Chinese Foreign Minister made the following written declaration to the Japanese Minister at Peking:

The Chinese Government will never lease or alienate, under any designation whatever, to any foreign power any territory within or along the coast of the Province of Shantung or any island lying near the said coast.

The Chinese Foreign Minister made also the following formal declaration:

I have the honor to state that the cities and towns to be opened in accordance with the stipulation of Article 3, of the treaty, respecting Shantung Province, signed today, will be selected, and the regulations

therefor will be drawn up by the Chinese Government, and will be decided upon after consultation with the Japanese Minister.

EXTENDS PORT ARTHUR LEASE

The second treaty, respecting South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia, contains nine articles, as follows:

Article 1.—The high contracting parties mutually agree to extend the terms of the lease of Port Arthur and Darien, and the term relating to the South Manchurian Railway and to the Antung-Mukden Railway, to a period of ninety-nine years, respectively.

Art. 2.—The subjects of Japan shall be permitted in South Manchuria to lease land necessary either for erecting buildings for various commercial and industrial uses or for agricultural purposes.

Art. 3.—The subjects of Japan shall have liberty to enter, travel, and reside in South Manchuria and to carry on business of various kinds—commercial, industrial, and otherwise.

Art. 4.—The Government of China shall permit joint undertakings in Eastern Inner Mongolia of the subjects of Japan and citizens of China in agricultural and industries auxiliary thereto.

Art. 5.—With respect to the three preceding articles the subjects of Japan shall produce before the local authorities the passports duly issued for the purpose of registration and shall also submit themselves to the police laws and regulations and taxes of China.

In civil and criminal suits the Japanese Consular officer, where a Japanese subject is the defendant, and the Chinese official, where a Chinese citizen is the defendant, shall, respectively, try and decide the case, both Japanese Consular officer and the Chinese official being permitted each to send his agent to attend the trial of the other to watch the proceedings; provided that, in civil suits arising out of land disputes between Japanese subjects and Chinese citizens, the cases shall be tried and decided by the joint tribunal, composed of the properly authorized officials of the two countries, in accordance with the laws and local uses of China.

In the future, when the judicial system in the said regions shall have been completely reformed, all civil and criminal suits involving Japanese subjects shall be wholly tried and decided by the law courts of China.

Art. 6.—The Government of China engage to open of their own accord as early as possible suitable cities and towns in Eastern Inner Mongolia for the residence and trade of foreigners.

Art. 7.—The Government of China agree

to a speedy fundamental revision of various agreements and contracts relating to the Kirin Chang-chun Railway, on the basis of the terms embodied in railway loan agreements which China has heretofore entered into with various foreign capitalists. If in future the Chinese Government grant to foreign capitalists, in matters that relate to railway loans, more advantageous terms than those in the various existing railway loan agreements, the above-mentioned Kirin Chang-chun Railway loan agreement shall, if so desired by Japan, be further revised.

Art. 8.—Except as otherwise provided in this treaty, all existing treaties between Japan and China with respect to Manchuria shall remain in force.

Art. 9.—The present treaty shall take effect on the day of its signature.

OTHER AGREEMENTS

Declarations made by the Chinese Foreign Minister also are given in this translation in full. These declarations affect the opening of cities in South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia, to be chosen in consultation with Japan; the use of Japanese capital for the building of railroads in these districts, and consultation of Japanese capitalists before contracting foreign loans on tax security; preference to Japanese, in case foreign advisers are required; the guarantee of the Han-Yeh-Ping Company, financed by Japanese capitalists; no shipyard, military or naval works to be constructed by any foreign power. This declaration was made in answer to an inquiry made by Japan concerning a report that China intended to erect such works in Fukien Province. The declaration made by the Japanese Minister affecting Kiao-Chau has already been given.

On Feb. 11 Viscount Chinda, the Japanese Ambassador to Great Britain, explicitly denied that any pressure had been exercised, or menace formulated, or bargaining done on the subject of Shantung or other Chinese territory. On the same date a statement was issued at Paris by the Japanese representative declaring that Japan would insist on the execution of her agreement reached last September with China regarding Shantung and on the retention of the Marshall and Caroline Islands in the Pacific which Japan took from Germany during the war.

The notes exchanged by Japan and China on Sept. 24, 1918, supplementing the treaty and notes of May 25, 1915, were also disclosed. Baron Goto, the Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Tsung Hsiang-chang, Chinese Minister to Japan, signed three sets of notes exchanged on this date. One set outlined the new railways which Japanese capitalists might finance in Manchuria, Mongolia, and Chi-Li Province, North China. The second set outlined the railways which Japanese capitalists might finance in Shantung Province, to connect the existing German-owned lines with the other principal railway lines in North China. The third set stipulated the conditions under which Japan might participate with China in Shantung Province affairs. By the first set of notes, Japanese financiers obtained the privilege of making loans to China for the building of hundreds of miles of railways in Mongolia, Manchuria, and China proper. The note relating to Shantung (No. 5) is quoted textually below:

ADMINISTRATION OF SHANTUNG

[*Note 5.—Baron Goto to the Chinese Minister.*]

I have the honor to inform you that the Imperial Government, in view of the feeling of good neighborhood existing between the two countries and in a spirit of mutual accommodation, has deemed it fitting, and accordingly has decided, to propose to your Government to settle various questions relating to the Province of Shantung in a manner as set forth below:

First.—To concentrate at Tsing-tao all Japanese troops stationed along the Tsing-tao-Tsinan Railway, excepting a contingent to be left at Tsinan.

Second.—The Chinese Government to provide for the guarding of the Tsing-tao-Tsinan Railway and to organize a police force for that purpose.

Third.—The Tsing-tao-Tsinan Railway to contribute an appropriate sum to defray the expenses of such police force.

Fourth.—Japanese to be employed at the headquarters of the police force, the principal railway stations, and the training stations of the police force.

Fifth.—Chinese to be employed on the Tsing-tao-Tsinan Railway.

Sixth.—On determination of ownership, the Tsing-tao-Tsinan Railway to be run as a joint Chino-Japanese undertaking.

Seventh.—The civil administrations now in force to be withdrawn.

In acquainting you with the above, the

Japanese Government desires to be advised as to the disposition of your Government regarding the proposals.

[*Note 6.—Tsung Hsiang-chang to Baron Goto.*]

I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of your note with contents to the following effect. (Repeats almost verbatim the contents of Baron Goto's note.) I beg to acquaint you in reply that the Chinese Government gladly agrees to the proposals of the Japanese Government above alluded to.

On Feb. 22 the Chinese Foreign Office dispatched a cable message to the Chinese delegation at Paris enumerating the Chinese-Japanese agreements, as follows:

With regard to the Chino-Japanese agreements, you took away with you copies made by the Foreign Office of all those relating to the twenty-one demands and the Chino-Japanese military conventions. The Foreign Office has already telegraphed the text, first, of the Kirin forest and mines loan; secondly, the draft of the agreements for the Manchurian and Mongolian railway loans; thirdly, the draft of the agreements for the Kaomi-Suchowfu and Tsinan-Shun-tesu Railway loans; fourthly, the notes exchanged regarding the co-operative working of the Kiao-Chau-Tsinan Railway.

Besides these there are no other secret agreements nor are there secret treaties of any kind.

Please disclose all these documents to the Peace Conference as circumstances permit, and act according to your discretion.

Official cable dispatches made public by the Chinese delegation, on whose authority doubt had been cast, showed approval of the delegation's activities, and directed that there be restitution to China of properties in Shantung. The delegates on March 2 submitted to the conference China's peace terms to Germany and Austria. Among these terms were the return of Tsing-tao, the crux of the dispute. A fuller summary of China's demands, made public later in March, appears at the beginning of this article.

CHINA'S OFFICIAL PROTEST

An official statement by the Chinese Government, cabled from Peking to Paris on April 5, declared that the Japanese treaties and notes forced on China in 1915 should be abrogated "because their

terms are incompatible with the principles upon which the League of Nations is founded." This statement was largely a reply to Baron Makino's utterance of Feb. 7, recorded in the preceding pages. It said in part:

Since the Japanese delegate in Paris has pointedly referred to the twenty-one demands, it is incumbent upon the Chinese Government to draw attention to the fact that China's acquiescence to terms subversive of her own interests were secured by means of an ultimatum to which she was forced to surrender because of the preoccupation of the rest of the world in the European war. It is a fact that the terms were imposed upon China at the point of the bayonet, the example followed being that of Prussia; the extension to ninety-nine years of the lease of Port Arthur and South Manchurian railways concessions being precisely the German Shantung terms.

In the subsequent agreement secured by Japan under the former Cabinet the principles followed have been equally dangerous, not only to China's liberty of action, but to her very independence.

The statement said that the claim of Japan to special privileges because the

Japanese expelled the Germans from Shantung contrasted oddly with the failure of the Americans to claim the railways and mines of France, although the Germans were expelled from Alsace and Lorraine by the co-operation of the American Army. It said that the American Army of 2,000,000 lost more than sixty times the number of lives that Japan lost at Tsing-tao. The statement also commented on the fact that England was not asking Belgium for a single concession, although Flanders "is one vast cemetery where English soldiers are buried."

Improved modern news distribution in China, the statement added, was keeping the Chinese fully advised of daily happenings throughout the world and irredentism was already raising its head, "not only in Korea, but throughout Manchuria and Shantung as well, foreign issues occupying almost exclusive attention to the detriment of domestic advancement."

China's Part in the European War

Effects of Civil Strife

ONE of the charges made by the Japanese against the Chinese in the diplomatic conflict over the return of Kiao-Chau was the negligible part that China had played in the war. The reasons that led China to declare war on the Central Powers were set forth at length on Nov. 2, 1918, by the Chinese Minister to Washington, (now a peace delegate at Paris,) Dr. Wellington Koo, at the dedication of the Altar of Liberty in New York. These reasons, briefly stated, were as follows:

China felt herself vitally interested in the issue of the world struggle. From 1897 on, Germany had committed aggressions in Shantung Province; her atrocities in 1900 were still remembered as examples of the brutal character of German militarism. But it was not the desire of vengeance that moved China to declare war. She saw clearly from Germany's crimes in Belgium and on the

high seas what would befall the rest of the world if the Teutons should emerge victorious in the conflict. Having thus decided that the war was no longer a mere matter of European politics, but a struggle for great and grave principles, when America broke off diplomatic relations with Germany and called upon all neutral powers to consider their course of action, China was ready and proud to be the first of the neutral nations to respond; she entered the war, said Minister Koo, with no ulterior motives, with no desire for material gain. Dr. Koo added that there were 200,000 Chinese working for the Allies behind the lines.

China's entrance into the war was further reviewed by Mr. Wang on March 4 at a reception given by the Peace Commission. According to this statement, China had expressed to the Allies her desire to enter the war against Ger-

many and to participate in the Anglo-Japanese operations at Tsing-tao in August, 1914, but the proposal was not pressed, owing to an intimation that the Chinese Government's proposed participation would probably create complications with certain powers. Again, in November, 1915, Mr. Wang added, China was prepared to enter the war in association with the Allies, but the Japanese Government refused its assent. Mr. Wang read a letter from M. Krupensky, the Russian Ambassador at Tokio, addressed to the Russian Foreign Office under date of Feb. 8, 1917, and stating that M. Krupensky had urged upon Viscount Motono, then Japan's Foreign Minister, the advisability of China's participation in the war. To these representations, the letter stated, the Foreign Minister had replied by pointing out the necessity of safeguarding Japan's position at the future Peace Conference, should China, as one of the belligerents, be admitted to it, and of securing the support of the Allies to the desire of Japan for succession to the rights and privileges previously possessed by Germany in Shantung Province; Viscount Motono then requested a promise by the Russian Government to support the desires of Japan.

CHINA AT WAR

China declared war on Germany on Aug. 14, 1917. In taking this action, the Chinese Government had dispensed with the sanction of Parliament, which at that time was not in session. On Nov. 1, two months and a half after war was declared, the motion to take this action was presented to the Chamber of Deputies; on the following day the formal declaration of war was made; but the Senate did not vote upon the question until Nov. 5, the day after the armistice with Austria had been concluded.

As to China's actual participation in the war, the statement of Mr. Wang said that 130,000 Chinese had labored behind the battlelines in France, and that many of them had been killed. Chinese workmen, he added, participated in the British operations in Mesopotamia and German East Africa, and

many British ships were manned by Chinese sailors. China gave the Allies nine steamers, and offered to dispatch an army of 100,000 men to the western front, but the Allies could not accept the proffer owing to lack of tonnage.

That the allied Governments were dissatisfied with the manner in which China had carried out her obligations as an ally was seen on Nov. 4, 1918, when the British Minister to China, with the concurrence of the other allied legations, handed informally to the Chinese Foreign Office a memorandum concerning matters in which China was said to have been remiss. Among the instances mentioned were the following:

The wasting in party quarrels of the Boxer indemnity, remitted for fostering industries to enable participation in the war.

Lack of results by the Chinese War Participation Bureau and the diversion of Chinese troops to civil warfare in the south.

The appointment of a Papal Minister without consultation, creating an impression of friendship with the enemy.

Failure to confiscate enemy property, to impose restrictions on enemy enterprises, and to impose penalties for trading with enemy subjects.

Refusal to retire the Governor General of Heino for supporting the enemy and the Bolsheviks in spite of the protests of the Allies.

Failure to imprison intriguing enemy subjects.

Failure to permit allied Consuls to witness the trials of arrested spies.

BOTH Factions ADMONISHED

Meanwhile China continued to suffer the evil effects of civil strife between the Peking Government and a rebel Government set up in the south at Canton. On Dec. 2 the American, British, French, Italian, and Japanese Ministers presented to President Hsu Chi-chang a memorandum expressing the grave concern of the associated Governments in witnessing the continued civil war in China, and their wish to encourage the efforts of both sides for reconciliation. The aid-mémoire pointed out that the unhappy division among the Chinese had proved no less harmful to foreign interests than disastrous to the welfare of China herself. The unrest had been an encouragement to the enemy, and during

the supreme crisis of the war had hampered the effective co-operation of China with the Allies. This disunion was making difficult, furthermore, the task of the reorganization of the world for the realization of peace and justice among all nations. Steps taken by both the Peking and Canton Governments to end the strife were approved, and a continuance of these efforts was encouraged. A similar memorandum was presented simultaneously to the heads of the Canton Government, together with a verbal statement that this action did not imply recognition of the independence of the southern Government.

By the steps toward conciliation already taken was meant the parleys of a conference at Shanghai between the Chinese factions of the north and south. On March 11, 1919, it was reported from Peking that the northern delegation of the Domestic Peace Conference at Shanghai had resigned in view of its inability to control the Military Governor of Shensi, who, according to southern reports, had continued fighting the southerners; this had created a deadlock in the negotiations. The difficulty first arose on Feb. 27, when Tang Shaoyi, former Premier and chief of the southern delegates, refused to proceed until the Peking Government had enforced the terms of the armistice agreed upon shortly before as to the Province of Shensi, and dismissed the Military Governor of that province for attacking southern forces.

CHINA'S CIVIL WAR

Civil warfare has torn China almost continuously since the birth of the republic seven years ago. The present conflict is the fourth. It began over the dissolution of Parliament, and was a constitutional quarrel. It was a spark from the European war forge that set China aflame again. In June, 1917, Li Yuan-hung, then President, sent to the Parliament a bill demanding war upon the Central Powers. It was charged that the German Ambassador, von Hintze, (the same von Hintze who was Flag Lieutenant of Admiral Diederichs at the time of the Manila Bay episode, and who subsequently became German Minister to

Mexico and than German Foreign Minister,) had been carrying on propaganda among the members of Parliament, and Premier Tuan Chi-ku, who was also Minister of War, sent some troops along with the President's bill to range themselves about the doorway and the compound of the legislative buildings. The Parliament voted down the measure. Premier Tuan then persuaded President Li to dissolve the Parliament as a means of reprisal.

This action of the Government aroused loud protest on the ground of unconstitutionality, and six provinces—Kangtung, Kangsi, Yunan, Kweichow, Hunan, and Szechuen—seceded. These secessionists set up a new Government at Canton, and Dr. Sun Yat-sen, who had been the first President of the Republic, became the Generalissimo of the forces opposed to the Government. Premier Tuan was dismissed by the President, and retired to Tientsin, where he organized a party of his own, consisting of the military Governors and officers of the army in the northern provinces. Aiming, it was said, to oust the President and establish a strong Government to overcome the rebellion in the south, he induced General Chang Hsun to enter Peking with a bodyguard on the promise that the dynasty of the Manchus was to be restored. The boy Emperor was reinstated on the throne, and reigned for a brief period of ten days. Then Tuan sent an army to Peking, which routed Chang Hsun and his royalist forces, drove both Chang Hsun and the young Emperor into the asylum of the Dutch Legation, and resurrected the republic.*

President Li, who had fled to the legation quarters when the invasion occurred, refused to emerge to resume his office, and at Tuan's request the Vice President, Feng Kup-chang, assumed the post. Tuan, accepting again the portfolio of Premier, was hailed as the savior of the republic. His method of waging war on

*Chang Hsun, according to a Peking dispatch of Oct. 25, 1918, was pardoned by a Presidential decree, on the recommendation of General Tsao Kum, special Commissioner in charge of the investigation of the affair.

the rebel provinces, however, won for his party the appellation of Militarists, and increased sympathy with the southerners, who were known as the Constitutionalists.

Tuan's call for the election of a new Parliament, as well as the election of Feng as President, were both denounced by the Constitutionalists as illegal. The first squadron of the Chinese fleet declared its independence with the southern provinces and sailed to Canton. Wu Ting-fang, former Ambassador to the United States, threw in his fortunes with the rebels, and established his residence in Canton. Under the command of Sun Yat-sen the southern forces were at first victorious, but in March, 1918, they lost Yochow and evacuated Changsha, the capital of Hunan. After that the tide of battle fluctuated. There were about 300,000 soldiers engaged upon each side; the northern army had the advantage of a better equipment in field artillery and machine guns.

Tong Chi-yau of Yunan and Luk Yuen-ting of Kwangsi were the leaders of the rebel forces under Sun Yat-sen. The latter, finding that the Provincial Governors were ignoring his orders in military matters, took drastic measures to compel them to submit to his authority. He then took over control of the Judiciary and Prison Departments, the Kwongsam Railway, and the surplus revenues of the salt gabelle. He also convened an "Extraordinary Parliament"

and formed a Cabinet, but, finding his Ministers unruly and his military forces disobedient, he retired in May, 1918. His letter of resignation, however, called for a continuation of the war, and it went on until the election of the present President, Hsu Chi-chang. The Military Governors of Kangsu and Kangsi, who remained neutral, harassed the Government with continual demands for peace, to which the commercial guilds and the Chambers of Commerce added their clamor. These repeated requests and the resignation of Sun Yat-sen brought both sides to a compromising state of mind. Hsu Chi-chang, the President, was said to have had the sympathy of the southerners in his candidacy, and, as stated above, has brought the warring factions into conference at Shanghai. The *mémoire* presented to him by the Allies indicated that they hoped his efforts at reconciliation would meet with success. The negotiations, however, have been temporarily broken off.

Hsu Chi-chang, who was formerly Vice President of the Republic, first achieved prominence during the last days of the Manchu dynasty, when he was one of the chief statesmen who adjusted the relations between China, Japan, and Russia consequent upon the Russo-Japanese war. After the boy Emperor, Hsuan Tung, had his brief day on the throne and was deposed, Hsu became his guardian. He is regarded as a sagacious and astute statesman.

April, 1919..

Japan and Racial Discrimination

Revolt in Korea

THE Japan Weekly Chronicle, a British periodical published at Kobe, devoted several very frank articles in its February issues to the subject of Japan's attempt at the Peace Conference to abolish discrimination against Japanese immigrants in the United States and other countries. "Japan is in an unfortunate position in the racial discrimination dispute," said the editor. "Her own arguments are cut from under her feet by the fact that she discrimi-

nates very completely herself." He cited the many ways in which the Japanese had discriminated against the Koreans, adding that the causes were partly racial and partly economic. Japan's anti-alien policy regarding Chinese and all other foreigners was recalled: "Foreigners are not allowed to own land or to engage in the coasting trade, nor are they granted mining rights.

"Foreign labor is jealously prohibited, and Chinese coolies are turned back



MAP SHOWING JAPAN'S PHYSICAL POSITION IN RELATION TO KOREA, KIAO-CHAU, MANCHURIA, AND CHINA

from any attempt to enter." The article continued:

The Japanese, of course, discover more racial than economic discrimination in the fact that several varieties of European peasantry are admitted to California, Canada, and Australia, notwithstanding the fact that their standard of living is no higher than that of the Japanese. There is the practical difference that they have not been brought up to think themselves a peculiar people, but have a wholehearted ambition to be Americans as quickly and as completely as possible. It is unfortunate, perhaps, that the Japanese, besides cultivating the idea that they are a race apart, can be recognized as such by their physical differences from the various European types, and so find a difficulty in enjoying the exclusiveness of the Japanese together with the privileges of those who desire to become something different.

In another article the Japan Chronicle contends that the objection of Californians to Japanese immigration is not chiefly on grounds of race or color, but of economic differences—the fear that the lower scale of living maintained by the Japanese or Chinese will force down the standards of American labor "But Japan ought to be the last country to raise objection to such a policy," says the editor. "For centuries Japan excluded all foreigners. * * * The danger apprehended in this case was not from labor, but from capital. It was feared lest foreign capital should buy

land, establish industries, and gradually obtain such power as to dominate the country. The danger in the case of Western foreigners was never very great, but we see today the pressure that was feared in the case of Japan being applied by the Japanese to China, where the 'peaceful penetration' of the country by railroads guarded by Japanese troops, the establishment of industries, the buying up of Chinese undertakings, the securing of concessions by political pressure, and the use of capital in the form of loans to hypothecate industry is gradually loosening the control of Chinese over their own country and making Japan the predominant power in a foreign State."

According to this writer the standard of living in Japan is so much higher than in China that Japan herself has legislated vigorously against Chinese cheap labor. No Chinese laborers, skilled or unskilled, are allowed to be employed in Japan without the permission of the prefectural authorities, with the result that more than one Japanese contractor who has tried to ignore this law has been compelled to repatriate his Chinese laborers at heavy loss. The editor continues:

None of these facts ever seem to be present to the minds of the Japanese who discuss the question of racial discrimina-

tion. To read their appeals to justice, to liberality of sentiment, to equality of nations, it might be thought that Japan at least was free from the reproach of discrimination that may be brought against the West. By these writers or speakers the economic factor is scarcely hinted at and is never recognized as applicable to Japan. * * *

The Japanese Government does not wish to relax control of Japanese abroad. Japanese in America and elsewhere are instructed to register their children at the Japanese Consulates. This is for two reasons—one that military service may be required of the males on reaching the necessary age, and the other that the Japanese Government prefers that Japanese emigrating to foreign countries should not lose their nationality or allow their children to do so. Nevertheless, at the same time the denial of naturalization rights to Japanese is resented as discrimination against Japan. Surely the Japanese cannot expect to have it both ways. * * *

So far as Japan is concerned, the price of labor and the cost of living have risen so rapidly in the last few years that the danger of Japanese competition with American or Canadian or Australian labor reducing the standard of life in those countries has largely disappeared. If left alone, the problem will in time solve itself.

UPRISING IN KOREA

Popular demonstrations in favor of Korean independence continued throughout that country in March and April. An associated Press dispatch from Seoul on March 26 told of serious disorders in Samga, a village in Southeastern Korea, where rioters cut the telegraph wires and burned the Town Hall. Many casualties were reported in the fighting between the mob and the Japanese troops. Similar unrest was reported to be prevalent all over the country, and one Korean dispatch declared that 32,000 persons had been imprisoned and 100,000 injured in uprisings to throw off Japanese rule. A Provisional Revolutionary Government was organized, with headquarters in Manchuria. Pak Yung Ho, revolutionary leader in 1885, was made Vice President, and Dr. Syngman Rhee Secretary of State. The latter issued a statement on April 7, which read in part as follows:

Koreans are united in their demand for a democratic Christian Government like that of the United States. Hatred of idol

worship is at the bottom of the detestation which Koreans feel for Japanese authority, which requires worship of the Mikado's image. Hundreds of times have Christian students in Korean schools, when forced to the public celebration of the Mikado's birthday, refused to bow their heads before this image because it is against the teaching of the Second Commandment, and for their conscience sake suffered arrest and torture.

America should help our cause for her own sake. Korea is the natural buffer State in the East, situated between Japan, China, and Asiatic Russia. Like Belgium, for this reason, she has always been the battlefield of her neighbors. Like Belgium, also, she maintained her independent existence until ten years ago, when Japan treacherously annexed her in spite of her solemn treaty and pledges to protect Korea's political independence and territorial integrity.

In commenting on the situation in Korea the Japan Chronicle ascribes the revolt to the policy of harsh repression and exploitation adopted by the Japanese Government, adding:

Not a single newspaper is allowed to be published in Korea by Koreans or in Korean interests; no assembly is permitted for the discussion of politics; no attempt is made to institute a system of self-government or to encourage the Koreans to believe that in due course they will have the right of managing their own affairs. As a result, the Government has no confidence in the loyalty of the Korean people. On the death of the late Emperor of Korea every precaution was taken against possible disorder—a duty that was essential, no doubt, but an exhibition of distrust that reflects curiously on some official fictions about Korean gratitude for Japanese protection.

Instead of argument or reason, however, the authorities employ the method of suppression. Meetings of Korean students in Tokio are dispersed, the dissemination of Korean manifestoes is forbidden, those who resist the orders of the authorities are arrested and tried in secret, and sentences of as much as one year's hard labor are imposed on Korean students for such an offense as publishing a manifesto without the necessary official permission.

The writer ends with a comparison of similar British problems and suggests that Korea could be made as loyal to Japan as South Africa was made loyal to Great Britain if a larger spirit of generosity were substituted for the present policy of repression and hostility.

INTERNATIONAL CARTOONS OF THE WAR

[American Cartoon]

The Bird He Bred



—From *The Newark Evening News*

[German Cartoon]

The Broken Weapon



—From *Kladderadatsch*, Berlin

"Yes, good Michel, Germany's old gun may never shoot again!"

[French Cartoon]

Clemenceau ("The Tiger") and Germany



—From *La Baionnette, Paris*

[American Cartoon]

“Dassent Spank Me Now!”



Nelson Harding
From *The Brooklyn Eagle*

[American Cartoon]

The Rhine Maidens

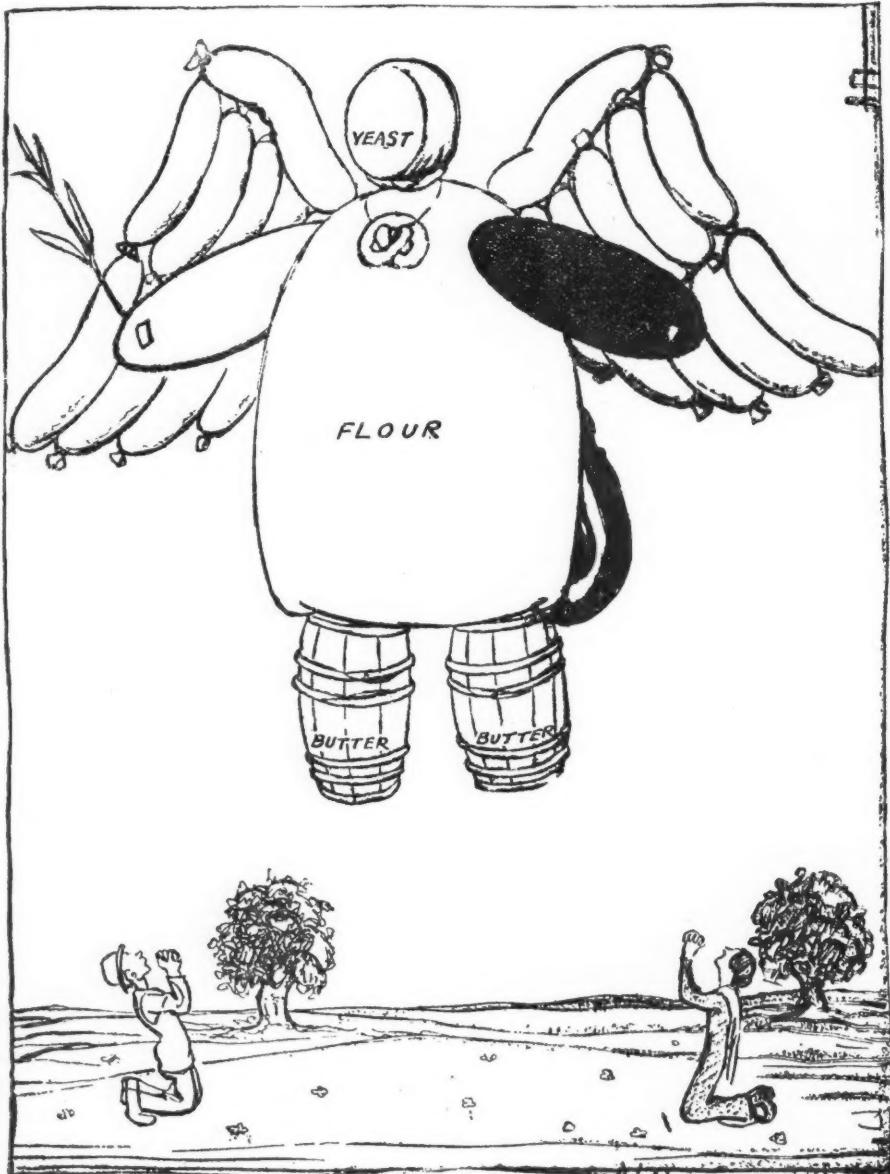


—From *The New York Herald*

"Ach, Gott! and now we must sing in French!"

[Swedish Cartoon]

The Real Peace Angel



[American Cartoon]

The 142d Day of the Armistice



—From *The New York Tribune*

"I wonder what is making this noise."

[English Cartoon]

Canute Up to Date



—From *The Passing Show, London*

THE COURTIER: "Say the word, King, and I guess the waves can't wet your feet—that is, if you stand on my shield."

THE KING: "Flatterer, guess again!"

[English Cartoon]

The Boomerang



-From *The World*, London

MONROE DOCTRINE: "I see you've got to go."

BRITISH SEA POWER: "Ah, but if I go, so do you!"

[Dutch Cartoon]

The Camp Followers of War



—From *De Notenkraker*, Amsterdam

[American Cartoons]

The Monster Menace



—Memphis Commercial Appeal

Why Peace Must Hasten



—New York World

[American Cartoons]

The Hobble Skirt



"Safety First"



The Peri at the Gate of Paradise



Bubble, Bubble, Toil and Trouble



-From The San Francisco Chronicle

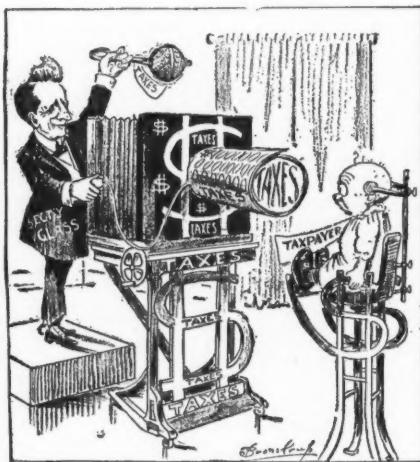
[American Cartoons]

Hogtied



—Arkansas Gazette

Look Pleasant, Please



—San Francisco Chronicle

[English Cartoon]

The War-Finance Racing Car

[American Cartoon]

The Finishing Touches?



—New York Herald



—Passing Show, London

"Here! For goodness sake, stop! We passed the winning-post nearly four months ago, and there's danger ahead!"

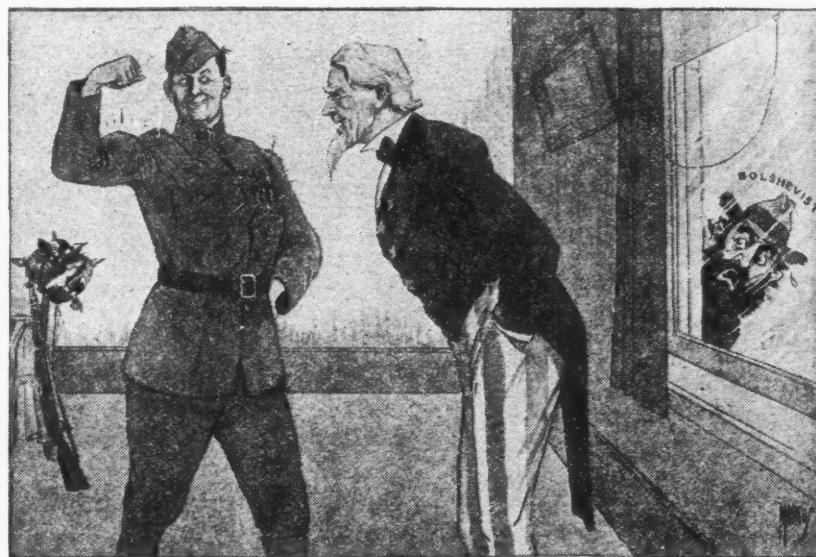
"Yes—b—but—I c-can't stop the old m-machine!"

[American Cartoons]

Paris Fashions Are Not Always Comfortable



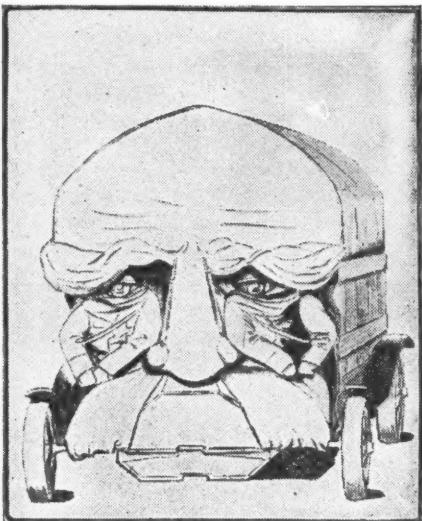
"Anybody Looking For Trouble, Uncle?"



-From The New York Times.

[French Cartoon]

France's Official Auto Truck



—La Baïonnette, Paris
The endurance and solidity of the State
Camion known as "The Tiger" (Clemen-
ceau) smashes its way through all ob-
stacles.

[Norwegian Cartoon]

Changing the Watch



—Hvepsen, Christiania

WAR GOD (to demon of unemployment):
"Take my place a while. I am going into
the church to rest."

[Dutch Cartoon]

The Latest Argument for General Disarmament



Kurt Eisner, Clemenceau, — who next?

—From De Amsterdammer, Amsterdam

[German Cartoons]

The Peace Conference



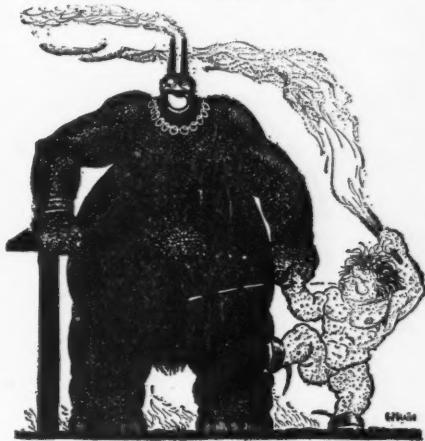
Simplicissimus, Munich
"Both of us are forbidden to speak to the conference at Paris."

Encouraging



Kladderadatsch, Berlin
WILSON TO THE GERMANS: "Hold on, Fritz, give that life saver (food) to the other fellow; it's not for you."

Father and Son



Ulk, Berlin
BIG INDUSTRIES: "Youngster, what makes you so rude?"
RADICALISM: "I got it from you, Papa."

A Mother's Painful Surprise



Kladderadatsch, Berlin
"Merciful heavens! Is this Russian bear a child of mine?"

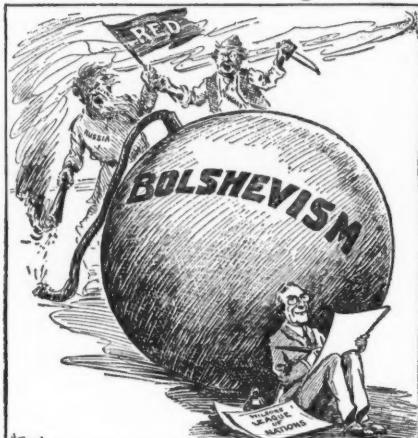
[American Cartoons]

The Blamed Thing Grows a New Head



—Indianapolis News

"And I'm to be Head of the League, Mother; I'm to be Head of the League!"



—Providence Journal

[English Cartoon]

The Mad Dog of Europe



—Passing Show, London

THE PARKKEEPER: "You can't bring that dog in here with you, Madam."

MRS. GERMANIA: "But I bred him myself."

THE PARKKEEPER: "Well, go and drown him!"

[Spanish Cartoon]

The Spanish Flu



—Esquella, Barcelona

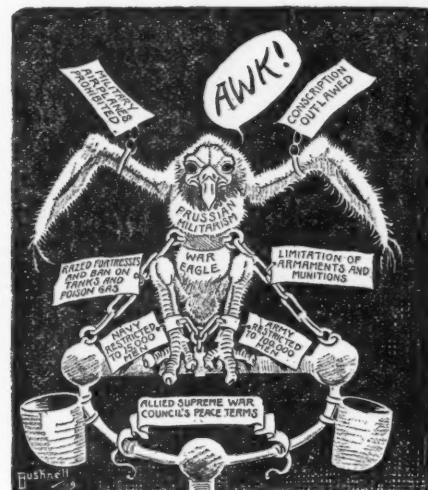
"If this food shortage continues, even I shan't be able to get enough to live on."

[American Cartoons]

To the Bitter Dregs



Nothing Left but the Squawk



Hope



The Old Hen Still Has Hopes



-Central Press Association

[American Cartoons]

"I Hope the Lion Believes It, Too"



Another Wound Stripe

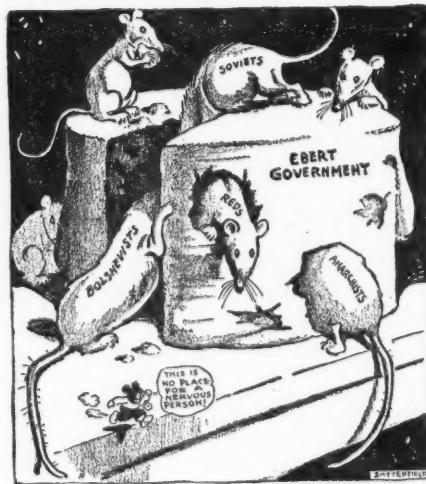


—From *The Detroit News*

Relieving the Watch



The German Cheese



—Newspaper Enterprise Association, Cleveland